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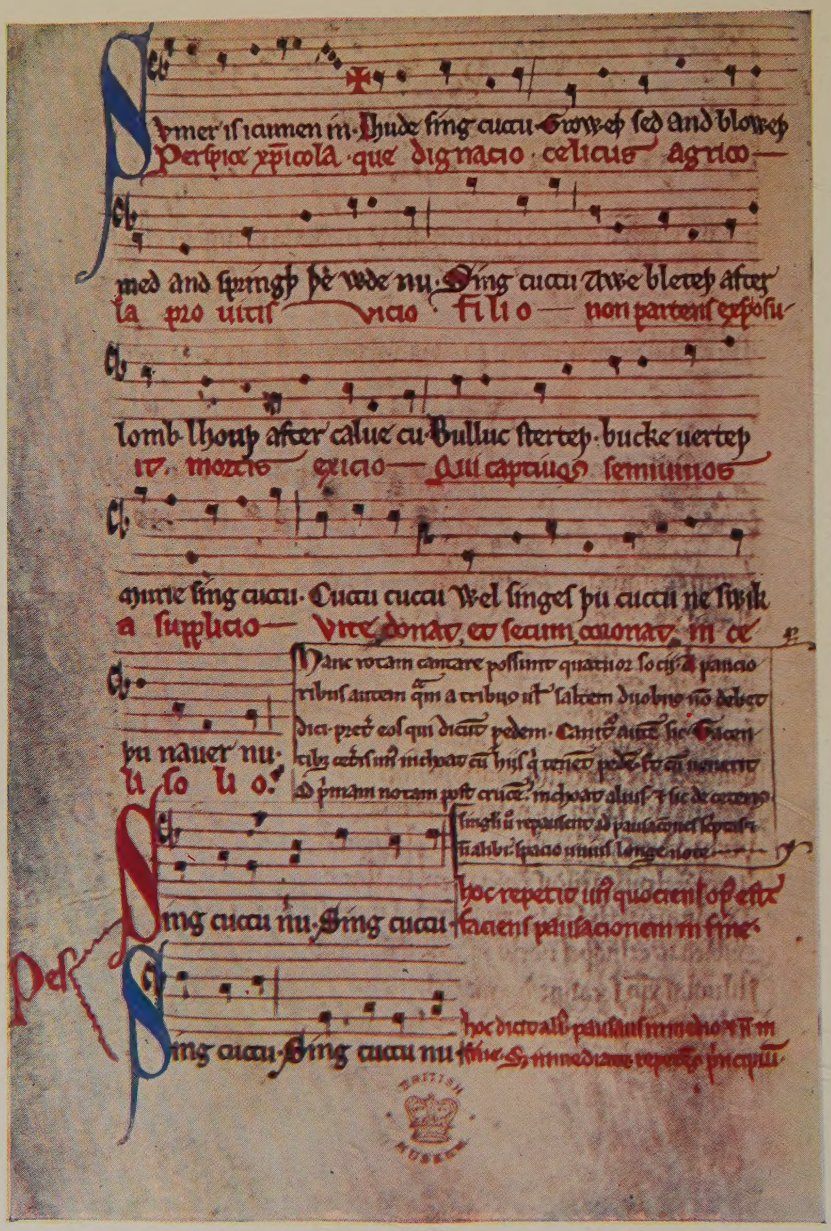
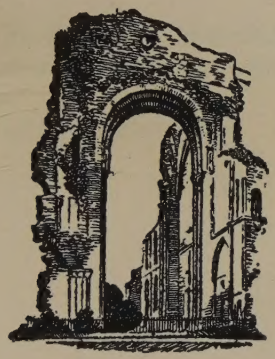


"SUMER IS ICUMEN IN": the well-known "rota" or round for four voices, written at Reading Abbey about A.D. 1226. British Museum, Harl. MS. 978, f. 11b.

ABBEYS

By M. R. JAMES, LITT.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
Provost of Eton, *with an additional chapter on*
"MONASTIC LIFE AND BUILDINGS"
By A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.
Professor of Mediæval History in the University of Leeds

With One Hundred Illustrations by Photographic Reproduction,
Fifty-six Drawings, Thirteen Plans, Seven Colour Plates and Map



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PREFACE

THIS book is to a very great extent a compilation. Though I have visited most of the places I describe, a mere visit could not tell me their history or what had been done to throw light upon it. For both I must have recourse to other people's writings. I have, as far as I could, embodied in each of my accounts the results of the most recent research. "As far as I could" has to be said: for I have not always been able to lay my hands upon a scientific description of modern date. Such things are very often only to be found in the transactions of local Societies, and I have no doubt that some have eluded me which I ought to have seen. At the same time I will ask the reader to believe that the number of books, old and new, which I have consulted is not inconsiderable. Also, if the reader is an expert, and finds that I have not said enough about matters that interest him, I will ask him to remember that proportion had to be observed: that I was bound not to be over-technical in descriptions of architecture or of monastic customs. This is meant to be a popular book, and its object is to provide the traveller with an adequate explanation of the buildings he is to visit, and to bring out the importance, relative or individual, of the communities to which they belonged. Here and there I have added something to what is recorded in print, and I have of course adopted a uniform order of treatment in my descriptions, and recast my sources accordingly.

My best thanks are due to Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for consenting to write the admirable introductory chapter, and to all those whose works I have used to enrich my own.

Overleaf is a list of some of my authorities.

M. R. JAMES

Eton College
July 1925

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

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Haughmond Abbey: The Chapter House

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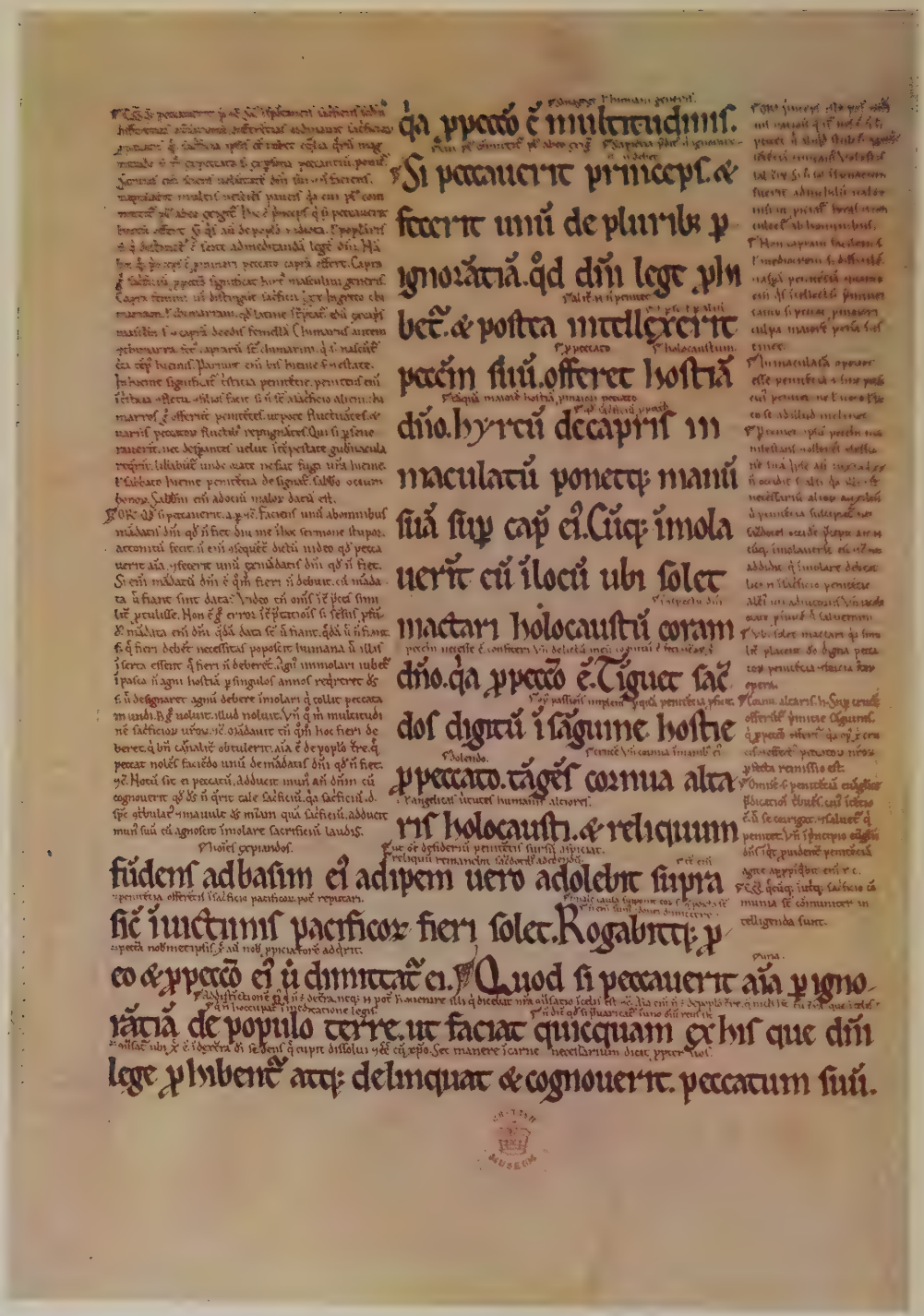
All the photographs, excepting the one facing page 126, are by Messrs. Frith and Co.

AND A SPECIAL MAP

Showing the Abbeys, Cathedrals and Castles within the area served by the Great Western Railway

(*see page 3 of cover*)



THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS AND THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, in Latin, with commentary and glosses. Written at St. Mary's Abbey, Buildwas, A.D. 1176.

MONASTIC LIFE

BY A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.
PROFESSOR OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

THE monastic life had its origin in the retirement of individuals from the world to solitary places where they devoted themselves to religious contemplation. During the early centuries of the Christian era this practice became common in the East. The words "anchorite" and "hermit" mean respectively one who goes apart from other men, and one who, like the Egyptian hermits, lives by himself in the desert; and a monk, although the title became applied specially to members of religious communities, meant in the first place a man who leads a solitary existence. The hermitages of Eastern monks were often collected in large groups, and more than one attempt was made to bring their inhabitants together in a social life under a common rule. The great development in this direction, however, took place in the West under the influence of St. Benedict, who, towards the close of the fifth century, entered a hermitage at Subiaco, in the Sabine hills. Others followed him into his solitude; and, recognising the special dangers besetting a religious life in which each man was a law to himself, he formed these into communities which became the pattern of monasteries throughout Western Europe. His Rule was composed originally for the monastery over which he himself presided, but it was naturally adopted by all which came under his influence. Strictly speaking, he founded no Order of monks. Each Benedictine monastery was self-governed and owed no obedience to a central body; but, while each developed its own customs, the Rule of St. Benedict was the fundamental principle of its existence, and when, in later days, separate Orders came into being as branches from the main stem, his Rule was the foundation on which they were established.

The early centuries of Benedictine monasticism were chequered by political disturbances, and, although it spread rapidly, it was in need of constant revival. A great reform of monastic life was initiated, early in the ninth century, in Gaul and Germany by a second St. Benedict, abbot of Aniane in Languedoc; but, during the disturbed period of the decline of the Carolingian empire, this was not permanent. In 910, however, the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy was founded by William Duke of Aquitaine, and, under a succession of abbots remarkable for their piety and powers of organisation, became the centre of a wide-spreading movement of reconstruction. Not only did Cluny become the head of an Order, composed of numerous monasteries in all parts of Europe completely dependent upon the government of its abbot, it also was the source of reform to many independent religious houses in France and Italy, and contributed its influence to similar movements in Germany, the Netherlands, and England.

The Cluniac revival reached its height in the eleventh century, and its long duration had a lasting effect upon the monastic system of the Middle Ages. At the same time, its early fervour was succeeded by a period of settled prosperity in which much of its spiritual energy was lost. During this century there were many signs of a desire, on the part of religious enthusiasts, to return to a stricter conception of the monastic life. New hermit Orders, in which monks lived in separate cells within the same enclosure, instead of using a common dormitory and refectory, arose in various parts of Italy, and similar experiments were made north of the Alps. The most famous of these was begun by St. Bruno in 1086 at the Grande-Chartreuse in Dauphiné: the Carthusian Order spread throughout Europe, and retained its vigour until the end of the Middle Ages. More than one Order came into life with the ideal of following the Rule of St. Benedict literally. By far the most successful of these reforms was instituted by Robert, abbot of Molême, who in 1098 founded the abbey of Cîteaux in Burgundy. For some years this made little progress; but under the second abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen Harding, and the great monk St. Bernard, who entered the monastery in 1113, and became first abbot of the daughter-house at Clairvaux in 1115, the Cistercian Order spread with extraordinary swiftness. When St. Bernard died in 1153 it counted some 330 monasteries in all parts of Europe, and even in the East, bound by a chain of affiliation to the head monastery of Cîteaux, where the general chapters of the Order were held. During the next hundred years or so this number was more than doubled. Although the Order had its seat of central government, the position of Cîteaux was less autocratic than that of Cluny. The Cluniac Order was, as it were, one great monastery with widely scattered members. The Cistercian Order was a family of monasteries, each of which traced its origin through separate parentage to the mother-house of its line at Cîteaux. Cistercian monks were distinguished from other Benedictine offshoots by their white habit: the habit of the ordinary Benedictine and Cluniac was black.

In England the Rule of St. Benedict was introduced by St. Augustine in 597. Although the early monasteries of the south and west may be said generally to have followed the Benedictine model, the influence elsewhere of Celtic and Irish monasticism, which followed the Eastern rather than the Western pattern, was strong, and prevailed in such important monastic centres as Glastonbury and Malmesbury. Under Alfred the Great and his immediate successors monasticism flourished in Wessex. To this period belongs the firm establishment of the cathedral monastery at Winchester, founded more than two centuries before, the foundation of the New Minster in the same place, afterwards known on another site as Hyde Abbey, of the monastery of Abingdon, and of the famous nunneries of Winchester, Romsey, Shaftesbury, and Wilton. But the great impetus to Benedictinism in England was given by St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury 960–988, who had matured his enthusiasm for the revival of the religious life in the hallowed seclusion of Glastonbury. Side by side with him worked St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, who, under a general commission from King Edgar the Peaceful, restored many of the old monasteries,

especially in the eastern counties, which the Danes had ruined, and St. Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, whose chief area of work lay among the monasteries of the Severn valley. Foreign reforms had some influence on their work: helpers came from Fleury on the Loire and from the Low Countries. The movement, however, was national in origin, and no mere extension of the Cluniac or other continental revivals.

The Norman Conquest marks another epoch of reform and restoration after the decline of monasticism during the troubles of the previous half-century. New monasteries, such as Reading Abbey, founded by Henry I, came into life; old houses were re-founded on new sites, as when the monks of Cranborne in Dorset were brought to Tewkesbury by their patron, Robert Fitzhamon; abbeys already celebrated, like Gloucester and Evesham, acquired a new lease of life and were transformed by builders who emulated one another in the size and splendour of their work. Of some of the great Benedictine abbeys which thus renewed their youth or took their place beside the older foundations little but the mere site or a few fragmentary buildings are left. Even where, after the suppression of monasteries, churches were allowed to stand, as at Bath, Romsey, Sherborne, and Tewkesbury, the rest of the monastic buildings either perished or were transformed for other purposes. While most of the cloister buildings at Winchester have been destroyed, the cloisters at Gloucester and Worcester, with their outer courts, still preserve enough of their medieval arrangements to enable us to reconstruct the appearance of the monastic dwellings attached to their churches; and, in the buildings which surround the cloisters at Westminster and Chester, we have singularly perfect examples of the centre of the daily life of a Benedictine house.

Of the houses of Orders founded upon the basis of the Rule of St. Benedict, the ruins of Wenlock in Shropshire, with the adjoining prior's lodging, are a noble example of a Cluniac priory, rivalled only by Castleacre in Norfolk and by the traces, laid bare by excavation, of the great Cluniac house at Lewes. Nothing is left of Montacute in Somerset but an elaborate gatehouse of late date. Cistercian abbeys, founded in lonely places, fell into ruin after the suppression of the monasteries; but their seclusion preserved their buildings from that utter destruction which befell monasteries in or near towns and villages. If none of the Cistercian abbeys of the West of England can compare in extent with the famous Cistercian ruins in Yorkshire, Tintern, at any rate for beauty of position and the perfection of its buildings, is almost as remarkable, and others, such as Buildwas, Cleeve, Neath, and Valle Crucis, are of more than ordinary importance. It should be remembered also that, of nine Carthusian monasteries in England, the two earliest, Witham, famous for its association with St. Hugh of Lincoln, and Hinton Charterhouse, were both in Somerset. Of the second of these there are considerable remains. Founded in the early part of the thirteenth century by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, it came into being on the same day as the Augustinian nunnery at Lacock, near Chippenham, which is still one of the most perfect instances of a medieval religious house

in England, though its church was destroyed to make way for part of the mansion erected on the site after the suppression.

While the earliest monasteries consisted largely of laymen, with only a few priests among them, a movement arose in process of time for the establishment of a common life under rule among priests serving cathedral and parish churches. This came into prominence in the eighth century, when St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, united the canons of his church in a community for which he composed a Rule. His example spread, and an effort, contemporary with the reforms of St. Benedict of Aniane, was made to make the " canonical life " compulsory upon all clergy. This failed, but the ideal of the canonical life survived, partly in cathedral and collegiate churches served by secular canons, who lived in the world (*saeculum*) upon the fruits of their prebends or revenues derived from the possessions of the church to which they were attached, but more perfectly in monasteries of regular canons who, like Benedictines, lived in self-governing communities and followed a Rule founded upon precepts contained in the letters of St. Augustine of Hippo. Augustinian or Black Canons were first recognised among the monastic Orders in the middle of the eleventh century, and it is probable that many of their houses were at first intended to serve as centres of ministrations for the neighbouring parish churches. This, however, though traces of it long survived, was discountenanced at a later date, and monasteries of canons, though usually smaller and poorer, became almost indistinguishable from those of monks, especially when it became the general practice for monks to enter the priesthood. Side by side with the Cistercian reform of the twelfth century came a reform of canons, inaugurated by St. Norbert, the friend of St. Bernard. His monastery of Prémontré, near Laon, gave its name to the Premonstratensian or White canons, whose organisation, on the Cistercian model, also developed with remarkable swiftness.

Augustinian or Austin canons did not appear in England before the reign of Henry I, but their monasteries became extremely numerous. Some of them, like St. Augustine's at Bristol and the neighbouring abbey of Keynsham, were affiliated to special congregations or Orders of canons : both of these belonged to the congregation at the head of which was the great abbey of St. Victor at Paris. Wigmore in Herefordshire was a member of the congregation of Arrouaise in the diocese of Arras. Of some of their most important houses in the west, such as Cirencester and Keynsham, nothing remains : part of the site of Oseney Abbey is occupied by the Great Western Railway station at Oxford. The church of St. Frideswide's Priory at Oxford, however, became a cathedral after the Suppression, and here and at Bristol most of the monastic buildings, including beautiful chapter houses, were preserved. Haughmond and Lilleshall in Shropshire, and Llanthony, in a wild and remote valley on the Welsh border, are fine examples of ruined Augustinian monasteries. At Woodspring, between Weston-super-Mare and Clevedon, the priory church was turned into a dwelling-house, and here and elsewhere, as at Bradenstoke, near Chippenham, there are considerable traces of the buildings of such houses. Premonstratensian abbeys in the west were few; but Halesowen, between Birmingham and

Kidderminster, and Torre, on the outskirts of Torquay, have well-preserved remains. There are also remains of a Premonstratensian abbey at Talley in Carmarthenshire, a few miles from Llandilo.

An Order of canons which was peculiar to England, and succeeded where others had failed in combining monasteries of canons with nunneries in separate cloisters with a common church, was that of Sempringham, founded by St. Gilbert. This Order, however, was almost entirely confined to the eastern counties, and of its houses at Clattercote, near Banbury, Marlborough, and Poulton, near Fairford, there is next to nothing left. On the other hand, while traces of nunneries are very scanty, and of an important Benedictine nunnery like Godstow, near Oxford, only the precinct wall is now to be seen, two abbeys of nuns or canonesses who followed the Rule of St. Augustine, Lacock and Burnham in Buckinghamshire, are of great interest as supplying good examples of nunnery arrangements. It may also be mentioned that the house adjoining the church at Cannington, near Bridgwater, is built round the site of the cloister of a Benedictine nunnery, and appears to incorporate portions of its buildings.

During the thirteenth century the newly founded Orders of friars succeeded to much of the popularity of the older religious Orders. Friars, while bound, like monks and canons, to the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, were not confined to the precincts of a monastery, but wandered through the country, living on alms, and making their headquarters in the various priories of the districts or provinces to which they were attached. These houses were generally situated in towns. The Dominicans or Black Friars, members of a preaching Order which became famous for its theological and philosophical learning, settled in Oxford in 1221. The Franciscans came to Canterbury in 1224. A body of Austin Friars, an Order composed out of the union of various isolated movements, founded a priory at Clare in Suffolk about 1230. In course of time, almost every town of any size possessed a house of each of these Orders and of the Carmelites or White Friars. Occasionally, as at the Austin Friars in London, their churches have survived, spacious buildings with large naves well adapted for preaching purposes. The present chapel of Christ College at Brecon is the eastern part of the Dominican church, of which the nave is ruined. The sites of friaries can often be traced by the marks which they have left upon the street-names of towns, and their remains, though fragmentary, are fairly numerous. A conspicuous example is the Dominican friary at Bristol, whose buildings have been converted into a school, and at Gloucester there are considerable remains of two houses of friars, now adapted to secular purposes.

All the religious Orders, though differing in customs and in dress, were founded upon the general principle of a life in which the daily services of the church were the prime duty of the convent, *i.e.* the collection of persons dwelling in one monastery under the rule of an abbot or prior. Accordingly all monasteries may be said, as regards the arrangement of the buildings necessary for the common life, to have followed one general plan. The Carthusian

Order, in which each monk had his separate cell, a small building with an upper room and with a plot of ground attached, which he cultivated, is an exception; but even here the cells were built round a cloister adjoining a church, and the whole plan of the monastery was founded upon the main lines traditional in religious houses from a very early period. Local variations, due to requirements of site and other practical reasons, are numerous. Thus the common dormitory at Worcester, instead of being, as usual, on the east side of the cloister, was placed on the west side between the cloister and the river; and, while, on the east side, its normal position lay north and south, at Gloucester and Winchester, as at Canterbury, it was built east and west, at right angles to the cloister. The Cistercian Order developed fixed peculiarities of plan of its own, the chief of which were due to the presence of large numbers of lay-brothers in each convent, who exercised the industries necessary to a self-supporting community.

The precincts of a monastery were enclosed by a wall or by a hedge and ditch. A gatehouse, which, as at Tewkesbury and Great Malvern, has often been left where much else has disappeared, led into a large outer court which contained the chief business offices and stores, such as the brewhouse, bakehouse and granary, and one or more guest houses for the reception of visitors who claimed the hospitality which the house was bound to give to all who asked it, or came to pay their devotions and leave their offerings at some well-known shrine. Poor visitors, travelling on foot and seeking charity, were lodged in the almonry, which usually was near the gate house; here also daily distributions of food were made to the poor by the almoner, under whose supervision in many monasteries were a number of boys, brought up at the expense of the establishment.

In the outer court the secular business of the monastery was carried on, and ordinarily much of the work done there was transacted by hired servants under the direction of monks appointed to look after its worldly concerns. In Cistercian houses, as has been said, lay brothers who were members of the monastery took the place of servants and workmen, and the ordinary layman was excluded from the offices. If he came to do business, however, he was admitted to a smaller court in front of the main gate house, where a chapel was provided for the use of lay-folk. At Beaulieu this court, with its own gatehouse, can still be traced: it contained the abbey mill, where the tenants of the monastery came to grind their corn.

Beyond the outer court stood the church and cloister, the centre of the life of the monastery. The cloister, a rectangular enclosure surrounded by buildings and by a covered walk, was usually on the south side of the nave of the church. In many instances, however, especially where, as at Gloucester, Malmesbury, and Chester, the monastery lay to the north of a town, or where, as at Tintern, a river was convenient for drainage, the cloister was on the north side. It was entered from the outer court by a vaulted passage or parlour, the normal place for which was in the western range of buildings, and frequently adjoining the church. This, however, was determined by the nature of the

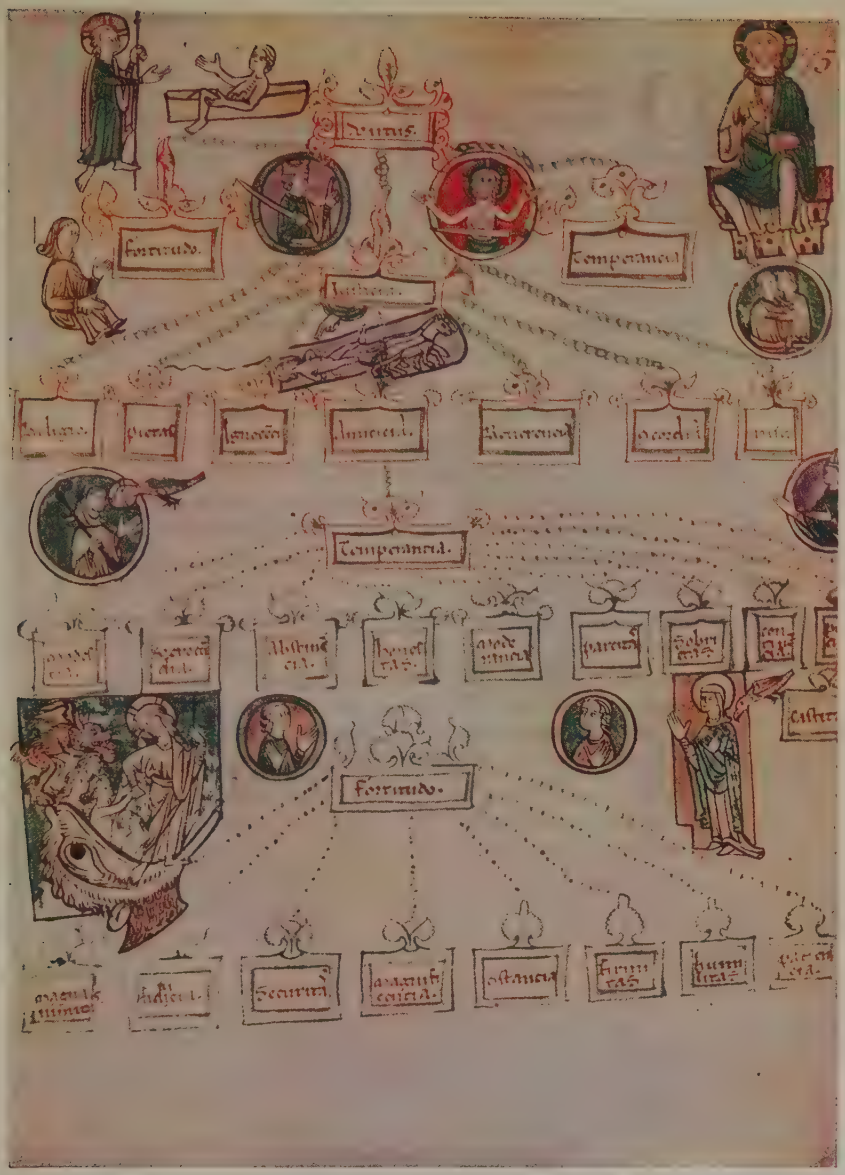


TABLE OF VIRTUES, from a collection of miscellaneous treatises, early XIII Cent. Belonged to Abbey Dore. British Museum, Cotton MS. Cleopatra C.XI. f. 75.

site and the consequent position of the outer court, which was not always in the same relation to the church and cloister.

The church was generally cruciform in plan, with north and south transepts and a tower above the crossing. Its eastern limb, originally short, was in most cases enlarged and lengthened, as time went on, to make room for more altars or for the shrine of a local saint, and to afford space for the easy circulation of processions. The choir, however, even where the church was greatly extended eastwards, usually remained in its early position, across the transept and in the eastern bay or bays of the nave, from the rest of which it was divided by a stone screen, with a doorway in the middle, an altar on each side of the doorway, and a loft or gallery above. A bay west of this was a second screen, with an altar against its west face, a doorway on each side, and above it a beam on which stood the Rood or crucifix with its attendant figures. The space between the two screens formed a vestibule which the members of the convent entered through a doorway from the cloister, at the end of the east walk. A second doorway entered the nave from the west walk, largely for the use of processions which, on Sundays and festivals before high mass, went round the church and cloister, leaving the church by the eastern, and returning through the western doorway. In churches of most Orders, the nave was open to the laity, and often contained an altar used for parochial services ; but in Cistercian churches it was devoted to the services of the lay-brothers, who were lodged in the western building of the cloister.

The eastern cloister building was in line with the adjoining transept, which thus overlapped the eastern walk. It was generally prolonged some distance to the south or north, as the case might be, of the cloister precinct, owing to the space required by the dormitory or dorter, which occupied the whole of its upper floor. It was entered from the cloister walk by a series of doorways. Next the transept was a vaulted passage leading through the range to the churchyard of the monastery, and used as a parlour or *locutorium* where necessary conversation was allowed at times when, as was the rule, talking in cloister was forbidden. Then came the entrance to the chapter house, where the convent met daily for the discussion of business after the opening services of the day. A third doorway was at the foot of the stair to the dormitory. Beyond this, the cloister walk was continued beneath the east end of the range of buildings on the side opposite the church by a vaulted passage, in which was the entrance of a long chamber beneath the extension of the dormitory, known as the common house or warming-house (*calefactorium*), and containing the chief, and, in early times, the only fireplace of the monastery. This passage sometimes formed, as at Worcester, the main entrance or outer parlour of the cloister : sometimes it led to the infirmary or merely to out-houses.

In many of the large Benedictine houses the chapter house, entered directly from the cloister walk, occupied the whole height of the building and divided the dormitory from the church. The dormitory, however, was usually continued along the upper floor as far as the transept, with which it communicated by a stair, as at Tintern and Bristol, used by the convent for access to the

services of matins and lauds, which divided the night into two periods. In such cases the chapter house, as in most Cistercian houses, was confined to the lower floor, with a room above its eastern projection, or, as at Bristol and Chester, was divided from the cloister walk by a vestibule beneath the dormitory. Early Benedictine chapter houses usually ended, like the great fragment at Reading, in a semi-circular apse ; but smaller chapter houses were rectangular buildings divided by rows of columns, and sometimes, as in the beautiful example at Lacock, did not project east of the range.

It may be noted that the Cistercian custom was to place the monks' parlour, not next the church, but on the other side of the chapter house ; while between the church and chapter house there was a chamber divided by a cross-wall, the eastern part of which was a sacristy, entered from the church, while the west part, entered from the cloister, was the library where the manuscripts of the house were stored. In other monasteries, rooms were seldom set apart for libraries until a late period : the books were kept in presses and lockers in the cloister-walk, and two large recesses used for this purpose may be seen at Worcester. In Cistercian monasteries also a passage next the parlour led to the infirmary buildings, and there was some variation in the position of the dormitory stair. On a small site, ingenious arrangements are often found. Thus, at Valle Crucis, the library or book-cupboard was a vaulted recess on the west wall of the chapter house, while, on the other side of the doorway, the dormitory stair ascends through the thickness of the wall.

The range of building opposite to and parallel with the nave of the church was occupied by the refectory or frater, where the convent took its mid-day breakfast (*prandium*) and its supper (*coena*) after vespers. This was usually upon an upper floor raised upon a vaulted basement, the floor-level of which was a few feet below that of the cloister. The stair to the refectory was entered from the cloister walk and led to the passage or "screens" at its west end, which communicated with the kitchen, a building lying outside the range. Before entering the refectory, the members of the convent washed their hands at the lavatory, usually a washing-trough recessed in one of the walls of the cloister walk near the doorway. Sometimes the lavatory projected into the open space in the middle of the cloister, as at Gloucester, where it is long and narrow, or at Wenlock, where it was a polygonal building. At Gloucester the towel-cupboard remains in the opposite wall next the refectory doorway.

The refectory was arranged like a college hall, with a high table at the far end for the chief officers of the monastery. The wall behind this was painted, as at Cleeve, or contained a sculptured representation of the Crucifixion or, as at Worcester, of our Lord in majesty. Near the high table the outer wall was thickened to contain a stair leading to the pulpit or reading-desk, from which one of the convent read aloud at meals. Beautiful examples of refectory pulpits remain at Chester and Beaulieu, and there are many others, as at Tintern, which show much variety of design. At the west end of the refectory, above the screens and the adjacent pantry and buttery, was a gallery or loft in which the

convent at a later date usually took its meals, reserving the refectory itself for special days.

Here again Cistercian custom shows a difference. About 1150 it became customary for Cistercians to build their refectories north and south, at right angles to the cloister, and without sub-vaults, unless a drop in the ground demanded. The spaces to east and west were filled in respectively by the warming-house and the kitchen, which was thus entered directly from the cloister. The introduction of the warming-house on this side left the sub-vault of the dormitory free for other purposes, possibly as a lodging for novices; while the position of the kitchen, which may have been a principal reason for the change, afforded ready communication, by means of turn-tables in opposite walls, with the refectory of the monks on one side and that of the lay-brothers on the other. It is curious to notice that at Cleeve, when the refectory was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, it reverted to the ordinary east-to-west plan. By that time lay-brothers had much decreased in numbers or had disappeared altogether, and the convenience which had prompted the north-to-south arrangement no longer existed.

The western range of the cloister was used for various purposes. Its ground floor, however, was generally the great cellar or store-room of the monastery. In Cistercian houses it was prolonged so as to include the lay-brothers' refectory, while the upper floor constituted their dormitory; and the whole building was sometimes separated from the cloister by a passage or lane, as at Beaulieu. In houses of other Orders, the upper stage was generally employed as the lodging of the abbot or prior, and contained his guest-hall, entered by a stair from the outer court, his great chamber or private room, and his chapel. In large monasteries, the abbot's lodging often grew into a considerable house, which, as at Gloucester and Westminster, stood on a site west of the cloister. Its position, however, followed no fixed rule. At Gloucester a new abbot's house was built in the fourteenth century, at some distance north of the cloister. The old house then became appropriated to the prior, and is now, like the abbot's lodging at Westminster, the Deanery; while the present Bishop's palace is on the site of the newer building. At Worcester, where, as has been said, the dormitory was on the west side of the cloister, together with the infirmary, the prior's lodging was in the outer court, near the cloister entry, and was used as the Deanery until 1860, when most of it was pulled down and the Dean took up his quarters in the old Bishop's palace, on the opposite side of the church. The splendid kitchen of the abbot's house at Glastonbury remains entire, and is one of the most remarkable features of a site where so much else has perished.

The last feature of a monastery to be mentioned is the infirmary, with its adjacent buildings. This, which was the dwelling-place of aged monks as well as a place for the sick and those who, according to medieval custom, were periodically bled to keep them in health, was habitually on a site to the east of the cloister, approached by a passage through the eastern range, or at a short distance outside the passage or "dark entry" at the end of the eastern walk.

Its ordinary plan, as may be seen from the remains at Gloucester, was an aisled or unaisled hall, like the nave of a church, with a chapel, like a chancel, at its east end. The beds were in the aisles or along the sides of the hall, which was divided from the chapel by a screen. The beautiful aisleless infirmary at Haughmond, which, owing to the fact that the site allowed no space to the east, is in a court south of the cloister, is one of the best examples remaining; and the present church of Llanthony, also to the south, appears to have been the infirmary of the monastery.

In connection with the infirmary there was often a special refectory, known as the misericord or place of indulgence, where the sick and old were supplied with more delicate food than could be had in the refectory of the convent. This, in Cistercian monasteries, was connected with the abbot's lodging, which was usually placed, by this Order, between the cloister and infirmary, so as to conform in some degree to the precept of the Rule which required the abbot to sleep in the dormitory with his brethren. As a matter of fact, his lodging communicated, where possible, with the common dormitory through the rere-dorter or *necessarium*, the position of which was guided by the channel of a stream or of the main drain of the convent. In later days, when lay-brothers were a thing of the past, Cistercian abbots sometimes transferred their lodging to the upper floor of the western cloister range; and at Ford, shortly before the suppression, Abbot Chard built a magnificent hall and lodging, which still remain, as a westward continuation of the north range of the cloister. At Ford also, then or earlier, as at some other places, a misericord was formed by dividing the convent refectory into two floors. Relaxation from vegetarian diet on certain days of the week became general in the Cistercian Order during its later days; but meat was always eaten in the misericord and cooked in the infirmary kitchen, and occasionally a new meat-kitchen and misericord were built with this object.

Such were the various parts of a monastery, built for the residence of a community whose chief duty was the daily recitation of the canonical hours in church, with the celebration of masses for the souls of benefactors. Their services, after the midnight offices, began with dawn and lasted through most of the morning, and at intervals through the rest of the day until the light failed and they went to bed. Manual labour, though contemplated by the Rule of St. Benedict, was habitually left to servants or lay-brethren. Much of the time between services was spent in the cloister walks, in meditation or study. The cloister walk adjoining the church at Gloucester still retains the partitions dividing the side adjoining the windows into separate "carrels" or studies where monks could read or write; and at Chester and Worcester the recesses of the windows were used for this purpose. The arrangements which we see at these places are those of a comparatively late date, when more privacy was possible than at an early period, and when the number of monks was generally fewer in all monasteries than before. The early undivided dormitory had been separated into cubicles, infirmary aisles had been similarly partitioned, and the use of the refectory had to some extent been abandoned for meals in

smaller or even in private rooms. At the same time, through all the rebuilding and transformation of churches and cloisters in the later medieval period, the general outline of the old plan had been preserved.

Monasteries, especially the great Benedictine houses of the twelfth century, played an important part in architectural history; but it must be remembered that their buildings were the work of lay masons, hired for this object and put under the supervision of one of the monks, appointed, like the other officers of the monastery, by the abbot or prior. Thus there is no special Benedictine or Augustinian, no monks' or canons' style of architecture. Here, however, as in other respects, the Cistercian Order was exceptional. Not only did they possibly employ lay-brothers as masons, but they adopted architectural forms in keeping with the austerity and simplicity of ornament which their statutes demanded, and borrowed in large part from the French and Burgundian houses of their Order. The architects or, to give them a more accurate name, master-masons, who worked for the Cistercians, forbidden to use their gifts in elaborate sculpture, developed a constructive system, which was in advance of its day and long retained distinctive characteristics. Its influence upon architecture generally was considerable. If at Glastonbury we wonder at the richness of the decoration lavished upon the chapel at the west end of the church, if the choir, Lady Chapel, and cloisters of Gloucester exhibit the beauties of later Gothic design with unsurpassable magnificence, these works of genius have nothing about them that is peculiarly monastic. They are simply the best architecture of the age applied to the buildings of a monastery. On the other hand, the choir and ambulatory of the remote church at Dore are planned in accordance with the customs of a special Order: their mouldings and sculpture, more elaborate than the founders of the Order would have allowed, have a peculiar character which is the outcome of a preliminary apprenticeship to the dignity of abstract form, so remarkable in early Cistercian churches; and the church at Tintern, one of the latest and certainly the loveliest of Cistercian buildings in England, derives much of its beauty from the adherence of its builders to simplicity of general detail in subordination to grace of form and proportion.

Saint Nicholas, Exeter:
Window in Guest Hall

INTRODUCTION

THOSE who visit the ruins of a monastery or explore an abbey church are likely to come and go with very varied emotions.

Of course, I am assuming that they expect somehow to be interested, and think it worth while to come and see the place: that they are not merely to be unloaded for ten minutes from a charabanc and crammed into it again after wandering vaguely in and out and, in the case of a ruin, saying "Tt—tt," or, in the case of a church, admiring the last new window or the alabaster reredos. Visitors of that type will not be at the trouble of opening this book. "'Did you ever see an old abbey, Mr. Peters?' 'Yes, miss, a French one; we have one at Ramsgate; he teaches the Miss Joneses to parley voo, and is turned of sixty.'" But of those who are interested—much or little—in seeing these places there will be many varieties. Three occur to me at once. Some will go away depressed, cursing King Henry VIII, and pining to see the venerable institution restored to its ancient uses. Others—few, I think, nowadays—will exult, in the spirit of George Borrow, at seeing a home of crass superstition and idle luxury laid waste. Most, of course, will not be tempted to either of these extremes. They will acquiesce in the fact that the monasteries exist no longer, and will only ask to see what is beautiful or curious, and to have the purpose and meaning of what remains pointed out to them.

It is for this largest class that my book is meant: but the attitude of both the other two classes has a meaning, and a few words about English monasteries in general, their time of usefulness, and the circumstances of their end may serve to explain and justify that attitude, as far as it can be justified.

Professor Hamilton Thompson's chapter on Monastic Life and Buildings, which forms the best introduction I could desire to the body of the book, brings out the main facts in the story of monasticism in a way which absolves me from dwelling on them.

When it has been digested the reader may probably ask: Now, what did it all come to? Were they of much use, all these monks and nuns? Well, without undertaking to show exactly what beneficial effect they had on many departments of life—as learning, art, agriculture—I do not hesitate to say that, not only in such ways, but in the way which they primarily had at heart, the monks and nuns of the earlier period were of immense use. That way was the worship of God. Whatever lower motives in later ages induced some men and women to take monastic vows, the original object was that high purpose; and, whatever view one may take of the particular means chosen to achieve it, I do not think it can be denied that the mere presence of a number of companies of people devoted to living the best life they could conceive of was good for the country in which they lived. I cannot doubt that the founders of monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries realised that: they were not actuated solely by the desire to get themselves prayed for after they were dead.

Also I cannot doubt that monasteries and monks speedily became far too numerous to make it possible that that high standard should be maintained. I conceive that in a majority of the houses, down to the moment of the Dissolution, there would have been found one or two men or women who were really fitted for the practice of their Rule in spirit and letter, people for whom the monastery was absolutely the right place. But I do not believe that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that which had been a right expression of religion in the twelfth continued to be so for more than a very few people. In these latter centuries the properly conducted houses were homes of many excellences and centres of much charity; but it is not possible for me to say that they were of first-rate importance to the Christianity of the country.

It is commonly estimated that there were about 650 monasteries in England, and that among them they owned a quarter of the land. This was not a state of things that was likely to be permanent. It is significant that very few new monasteries were founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The preference was for colleges, collegiate churches, and hospitals.

The first blow at the existing state of things was dealt from within the Church. Cardinal Wolsey obtained leave from the Pope to dissolve a number of small houses and devote their revenues to the endowment of two great colleges which he projected at Oxford and Ipswich. Most likely this step gave Henry VIII the idea of a more sweeping measure. In 1535–6 a Bill was passed for the suppression of all houses under the clear annual value of £200. In 1539 another Act invested the property of all the surviving houses in the King. "Voluntary" surrender of all but a very few was the result, and with these few a "short way" of violence was taken.

These are the bare bones of the story. To dwell upon the details of the process of spoliation—this is what I cannot do with any patience. A change which I honestly judge to have been inevitable was carried out in the worst possible way and with the greatest waste of things worth preserving that has ever been seen in our land. To take a single instance, that of books. It would have been perfectly easy and very inexpensive to have collected the ancient books of the greater houses into a Royal library of unrivalled value. A half-hearted attempt was made in this direction, for the King sent John Leland to visit the abbeys, with some such notion in his mind. Something, but not much, resulted, but even Leland's bare records of what he saw are of great interest to us now. In the end, such libraries as those of Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Peterborough, Crowland—all of which must have contained wonderful treasures—may be said to have totally disappeared. Impossible as it may have been to preserve buildings, painted windows, and vestments, books at least could have been saved.

The effect of the Dissolution on the minds of the people can be learnedly portrayed, and economists can tell in detail how they felt it in purse and person. I prefer the simpler method of quoting some verses from a ballad of Elizabethan times, called "Plain Truth and Blind Ignorance." The poem is written very much in the Protestant interest, and ends with an abrupt and very

MEDIEVAL BINDING EXECUTED AT READING ABBEY. [Bede, Commentary on St. Luke, XII Cent.] British Museum, Egerton MS. 2204.

improbable conversion of BLIND IGNORANCE to that point of view; but it has the merit of showing some appreciation of the older attitude of mind. The scene, we may imagine if we like, is Glastonbury. PLAIN TRUTH begins:

God speed you, ancient father,
  and give you a good daye;
What is the cause, I praye you,
  so sadly here you staye?
And that you keep such gazing
  on this decayèd place,
The which, for superstition,
  good princes down did raze?

IGNORANCE: Chill tell thee by my vazen,
  that zometimes che have knowne
A vair and goodly abbey
  stand here of bricke and stone;
And many a holy vrier *
  as ich may say to thee
Within these goodly cloysters
  che did full often zee.

TRUTH: Then I must tell thee, father,
  in truth and veritie
A sorte of greater hypocrites
  thou couldst not likely see, etc.

IGNORANCE naturally protests, and, after an exchange of words, goes on:

Chill tell thee what, good vellowe,
  before the vriers went hence,
A bushell of the beste wheate
  was zold vor vourteen pence;
And vorty egges a penny
  that were both good and newe:
And this che zay my zelf have zeene,
  and yet ich am no Jewe

(to which nation TRUTH had compared him).

TRUTH refers to the Bible, and IGNORANCE replies:

Chill tell thee my opinion plaine
  and chould that well ye knewe:
Ich care not for the Bible booke;
  tis too big to be true.

* IGNORANCE misleads us here.

Our blessed Lady's psalter
zhall for my money goe :
Zuch pretty prayers as there bee
the Bible cannot zhowe.

TRUTH has him on the hip.

Nowe hast thou spoken truly,
for in that book indeede
No mention of our Lady,
or Romish saint we read :
For by the blessed Spirit
that book indited was,
And not by simple persons,
as was the foolish masse.

IGNORANCE: Cham zure they were not voolishe
that made the masse, che trowe ;
Why, man, tis all in Latine ;
and vools no Latine knowe !
Were not our fathers wise men,
and they did like it well ;
Who very much rejoyced
to heare the zacring bell ?

TRUTH: But many kinges and prophets,
as I may say to thee,
Have wisht the light that you have,
and could it never see ;
For what art thou the better
a Latine song to heare,
And understandest nothing
that they sing in the quiere ?

IGNORANCE: O hold thy peace, che pray thee,
the noise was passing trim
To heare the vriers zinging
as we did enter in :
And then to zee the rood-loft
zo bravely zet with zaints :—
But now to zee them wandring
my heart with zorrow vaints.

Here we may leave them : but one word which IGNORANCE uses gives me a text for a few of my own. He talks of *friars* at an *abbey*. Whether this had come to be popular use or not, I am not clear : at least it is misleading. We must not confuse monks with friars. There were no friars in England till the Franciscans came in 1224, to be followed by many other Orders at short

intervals. Scott's Friar Tuck in Richard I's time is an anachronism. Monks, we know, there had been for centuries before. The proper title of a Benedictine monk was Dan, which stood for Domnus (nowadays it is Dom, having come back to us in that form from France). We read of Dan Lydgate: that is correct—he was a monk of Bury; we also read of Dan Chaucer: that is a mistake of the poet Spenser's; also of Dan Cupid: that is a pleasantry.

In conclusion: when you visit the ruins of a monastery you should do so with the consciousness that it was a place of religion, and a place which to a great many good men and women was the centre of everything that they loved in this world and the next. I do not plead for a specially sanctimonious bearing on your part, but at least you will not strike matches on the remains of the high altar—or on any other part of the building—nor write your names thereon, nor leave paper about.

Your mental picture of the monk should not be that of the fat man holding his stomach and bursting with laughter at a good story, or brandishing his goblet in the conventional attitude of the stage carouser. Nor need you fly to the other extreme and figure them all as pallid ascetics passing their lives on their knees. There were monks of both sorts, no doubt: but the bulk of them were steady prosaic men, perhaps more like Fellows of Colleges in the eighteenth century than anything else. Whatever the venal commissioners of Henry VIII may have said, the monasteries were not hotbeds of crime and luxury. Many were somnolent, many were insolvent, few were evil. You need not trouble yourselves to say when you see the refectory or the cellar, "Ha, ha! those old monks knew what was what!" Nor need you be shocked when you are shown the opening of a subterranean passage and told that it leads to a nunnery five miles off. You may rest assured that it is really the main drain of the establishment. Finally, if you are stricken sentimental and feel that you must express your feelings in verse, here is a model for you:

> There is a calm, a holy feeling,
> Vulgar minds can never know,
> O'er the bosom softly stealing;
> Chastened grief, delicious woe.
> Oh! how sweet at eve regaining
> Yon lone tower's sequestered shade,
> Sadly mute and uncomplaining——

At this point Miss Julia Simpkinson was obliged to break off, and it seems to me that I may as well follow her example.

Glastonbury Abbey:
Boss from Interior Arcade
St. Mary's Chapel

GLASTONBURY

[O.S.B

THERE is no religious foundation in England whose history carries us so far back as that of Glastonbury. Its origins really *are* lost in the mists of antiquity. True, in later times people became very precise about them, but when we come to test their assertions these melt away under the touch. It is impossible here to write down all the mythical history that gathered about the place. I will try to set down what is not seriously disputed, and then notice some of the more famous of the legends.

Long before the Saxons (the English) came to this country—far back in the days of British princelings—some Christian missionaries built a little church of wattles in the district called Avalon. Whether that was in the second or third century or later, there is no way of telling. Not unnaturally the date was eventually put back to the first century.

The church was old in the time of St. Paulinus, Archbishop of York—that is, in the early years of the seventh century—and he cased it over with wood and lead.

From the first year of the same century (601) purports to come a grant made by a King of Damnonia * (the same word as Devon) of the land called Ynyswitrin to the "old church," and an abbot, Worgret, is the head of the community.

A hundred years later (700 or so) King Ina gives a charter and builds what was then considered a great church, to the east of the old one.

By this time we are well into the Saxon period, and you must note that there has been no word of devastation of the place by heathen Saxons. They were Christianised before they took over this part of the country. Thus Glastonbury passed intact from British to English hands. It is the only foundation which did so.

That the history of the earlier centuries should be filled in a little was natural. St. Patrick and St. Benignus, his disciple, are credited with having sojourned here in the fifth century; nay, the bodies of both were said to lie here. St. Bridget came, and lived at Beokery, Little Ireland, another islet in the marsh. And in the sixth century St. David (*d.* 546) came and built an addition to the Old Church at the eastern end. The dimensions of the addition were very precisely set down by the chroniclers of the Abbey. Gildas, the historian, too, died and was buried here in 512. Of these statements (and there are more like them) the most credible is that about St. David. But all of them represent a truth, that Glastonbury was so sacred a resort in those centuries that the great lights of the Celtic Church would be likely visitors to it.

If traditions of this class are not fairly to be called fabulous, some, which crystallised later, are of that description.

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* William of Malmesbury, who saw the charter, says the king's name was illegible, but I have seen it (in Mr. Bligh Bond's book) given as Gwrgan.

First, we hear that twelve disciples of the Apostles (the Apostle Philip is named) were sent from Gaul to Britain in A.D. 63. They came to Avalon, and King Arviragus and his successors granted them lands which came to be known as the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury. It was they who, at the bidding of the Archangel Gabriel, built the Old Church. The twelve died in course of time, and the place remained desolate until, in A.D. 166, King Lucius (first Christian King of Britain), by his missionaries Phagan and Deruvian, established other twelve, whose succession was not interrupted until St. Patrick, visiting the place in 433, set up a regular monastic life there.

All this while there has been no mention of Joseph of Arimathea. It seems to be the case that his name was first introduced into the story in the thirteenth century by a deliberate borrowing from French romances. Certain it is that William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century knows nothing of him, though the story was interpolated into the text of his book about the Antiquity of Glastonbury.

Nor was it a true Glastonbury legend that he brought with him the Holy Grail. In the romances he *is* connected with that mystic vessel, but no Glastonbury author ever pretended that the Grail was in the keeping of the Abbey. What Joseph was supposed to have brought was a pair of cruets, containing a relic of the Holy Blood and of the sweat of our Lord. These cruets he carries in the picture of him in the fifteenth-century glass in the east window of Langport Church, and there is frequent mention of them in the late days of the Abbey.

Wearyall Hill, The Glastonbury Thorn, and Chalice Well are all somewhat late additions to the Glastonbury mythology. Chalice Well, in particular, appears to be a modern sophistication of the name Chalke or Calke Well.

The first allusion to the legend of the Thorn that I have been able to find is a pictorial one, on the seal of the Abbey, where, on one side, the Virgin, standing between St. Katherine and St. Margaret, holds on her right arm the Child and in her left hand a flowering bush. This seal is assigned by Mr. Pedrick to the thirteenth century, but to me the architecture suggests the fourteenth.

All this may seem iconoclastic; but Glastonbury is really so ancient and so venerable a site that it can afford to have these ivy-like accretions to its history pulled away. It is, without doubt, the oldest Christian sanctuary in England.

I have brought its story down to King Ina's days. I cannot dwell long upon any stage of the subsequent developments.

The next great figure in the history is that of Dunstan, who was Abbot here (in 945), repaired the ravages of the Danish invasion-period (about 870), and established a stricter mode of life. The English reform, begun by Dunstan at Glastonbury, in after years was reinforced by men who had seen something of the parallel and somewhat earlier reform-movement in France. Oswald of Worcester spent some years in the Abbey of Fleury on the Loire; and Ethelwold, though he never went abroad, sent his pupil, Osgar, to Fleury, and also got trained chanters from Corbie to teach his monks at Abingdon.

But the beginnings of the movement were independent of France and were due, so far as we can see, to Dunstan.

Whatever the later chronicles of this or other Abbeys may say, it is clear that before the days of Dunstan monasteries were often very badly managed. How far the Benedictine Rule was observed it is hard to make out. It has even been said that before 960 or so, when Ethelwold began his reforms, there was no true Benedictinism in England. Certainly the monks' life very much needed an organising hand. There was no well-known standard to which they could conform themselves. The scattered monastic establishments were very much at the mercy of the princes and lords in whose domains they lived. King Alfred, indeed, founded two regular houses before 900, for nuns at Shaftesbury, for monks at Athelney; "but the time for the revival of English monasticism was not yet." In very many cases we read that monks were replaced by "secular canons," even by married men. But be it always remembered that, in the second half of the tenth century, strict monasticism was introduced—and the three great names in the movement of reform are those of Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald of Worcester.

It is Dunstan who is figured in the central place on one side of the Abbey seal in the fourteenth (?) century (between SS. Patrick and Benignus) and beneath him is a representation of that encounter of his with the devil, which nowadays is the first thing that springs to the memory when his name is mentioned. The tongs with which he pinched the devil's nose were shown at the Abbey in the fifteenth century.

After the Conquest two Norman abbots, Turstin and Herlwin, are both named as

St. Mary's Chapel: Interior

builders of new churches, Herlwin (1101–1120) having done away with Turstin's church and built another larger one.

It must be kept in mind that all through these years the Old Church still stood, at the west end of the successive Abbey Churches.

More building was done, over which we need not delay, during the twelfth century. None of it is left, for, on May 29, 1184, a great fire consumed the whole place, including, alas! the Old Church.

The first thing done after this catastrophe was to rebuild the Old Church in stone. It was consecrated in 1186–7.

This rebuilt chapel is the completest piece of the Abbey that remains. It will be briefly described later, but I am intent on making it clear here that it is the Lady Chapel of the Abbey, though it stands at the west end of the church, and we are accustomed to Lady Chapels at the east end. Here, it is so placed because it occupies the site of the ancient Chapel of the Virgin. At Durham there is also a western Lady Chapel, but the reason for it there is different.

The great Abbey Church, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, was begun about the same time, and considerable progress made. But there were constant troubles and interruptions. The choir and transepts were complete in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and the Lady Chapel was lengthened eastward by a Galilee porch joining it to the west front of the church, and finally an uninterrupted passage was made through.

All through the fourteenth century the abbots were active in building. The nave was finished and vaulted, the central tower built, and perhaps the two towers which seem to have flanked the west end, and the large north porch.

Abbot Walter de Monington (1342–74) lengthened the choir by four bays and remodelled the whole interior of it in a way comparable to what we see in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral. Mr. Bligh Bond's excellent *Architectural Guide* to the Abbey gives full details of the reconstruction, which he has most ingeniously worked out.

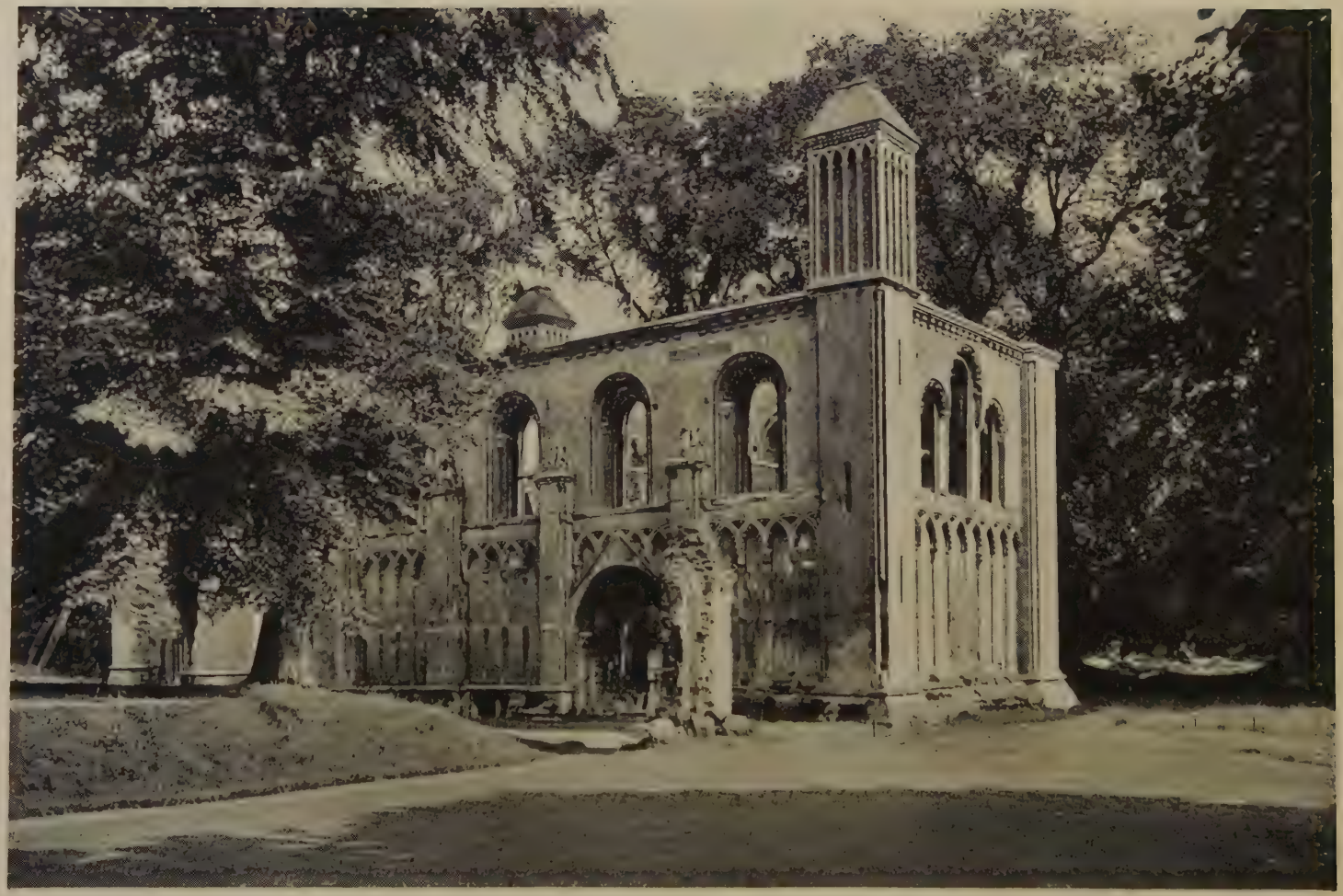
Monington's successor, Chinnock, rebuilt the cloister, and either he or the next Abbot, Frome (1420–53), built the abbot's kitchen.

The last Abbot but one, Richard Bere (1493–1524), made important additions. He vaulted the central tower, and to support the extra weight put in St. Andrew's Cross arches (such as we see at Wells) into the two transept arches. He also built a large chapel to King Edgar (regarded as a Saint at Glastonbury) at the east end of the church. The foundations of it were discovered by Mr. Bligh Bond in 1908. Further, after a pilgrimage to Italy, Abbot Bere built a chapel to Our Lady of Loretto on the north side, west of the transept. The sketch plan, made before the foundations of these buildings were uncovered, does not show them.

The Edgar Chapel was finished by the last Abbot, Richard Whiting.

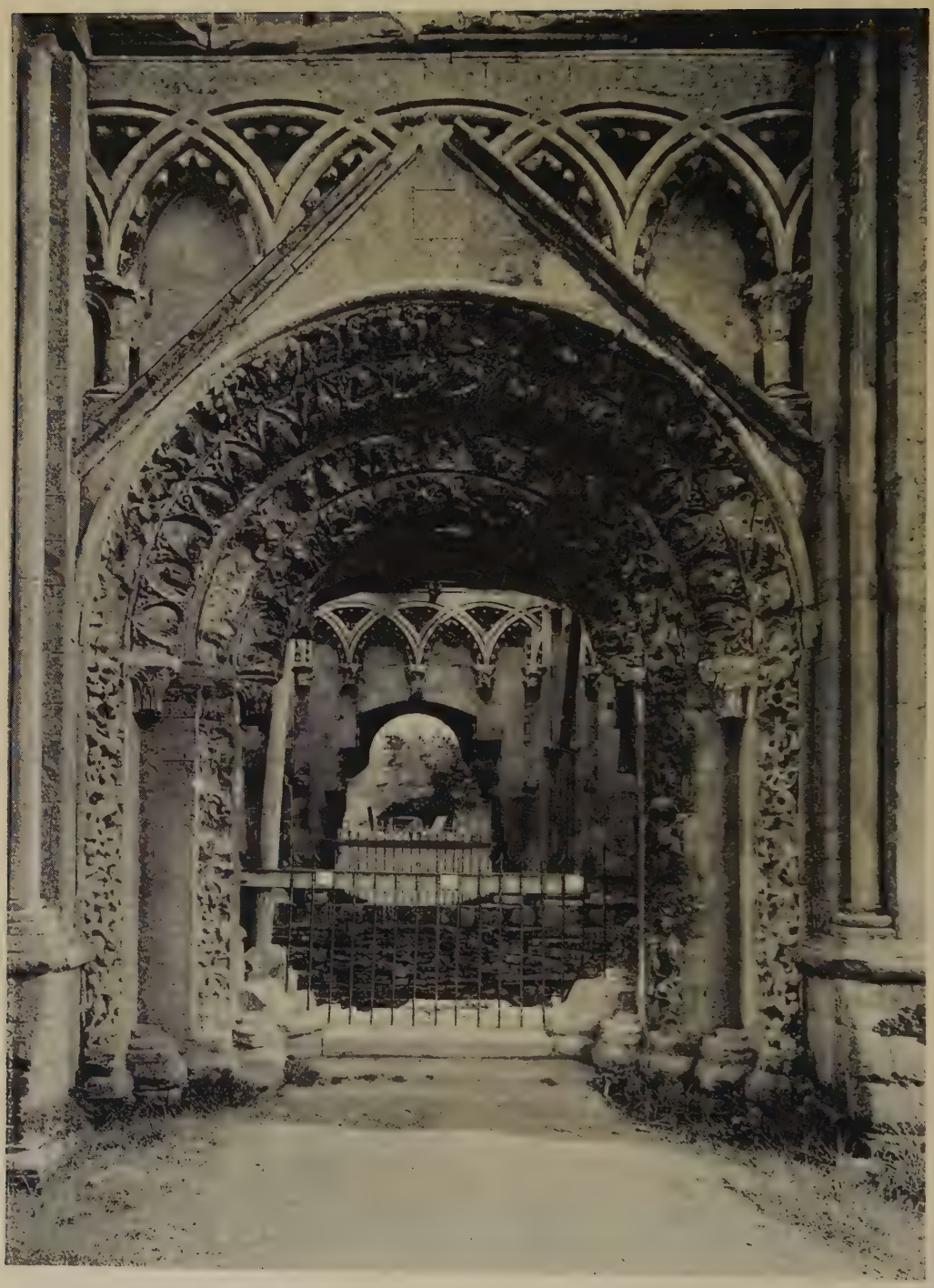
His story is too sad to dwell upon. An old man of saintly life, a beneficent power in his countryside, he, rightly refusing to surrender his Abbey to the King, was executed on a trumped-up charge of embezzlement and treason on Glastonbury Tor, November 15, 1539.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY: ABBOT'S KITCHEN



GLASTONBURY ABBEY; CHAPEL OF ST. MARY

GLASTONBURY ABBEY



GLASTONBURY ABBEY: ST. MARY CHAPEL, NORTH DOOR

At the Dissolution, the annual value of the Abbey was estimated at £3500 odd. It was granted by Edward VI to the odious Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. There were thoughts of restoring it in some form in Mary's reign, but they came to nothing. There was no one found to plead for the preservation in any form of the place, and yet it had a stronger claim on the sentiment and reverence of the country than almost any other of our religious foundations.

It became the quarry of all the country round. When interest had begun to awaken in the minds of antiquaries like Hearne and Stukeley it was impossible to do anything. A Presbyterian owned the site and took a pleasure in defacing the buildings, and at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth another Presbyterian, John Down, was owner, and did all the mischief he conveniently could.

Those who followed him were differently minded, and deserve our gratitude for care lavished on the remains. Finally, in 1907, the site was purchased for the Church of England and placed under trustees.

The church was an enormous building. The total length, including the Lady Chapel on the west and the Edgar Chapel on the east, was some 590 feet. It consisted (going from west to east) of the Lady Chapel, the Galilee (joined to the west front), a nave of nine bays, with aisles, transepts with two chapels in each (the north transept extending somewhat farther westward than the south), choir of eight bays, with aisles, and Edgar Chapel. There was a central tower and probably two western ones, and a large north porch. Some smaller chapels were attached to various parts of the main structure.

Of these there remain: the shell of the Lady Chapel and Galilee, three bays of the south aisle wall of the nave; the eastern piers of the crossing; a bit of the north transept; a large portion of the south wall of the choir aisle; fragments of the east wall; besides foundations exposed by excavations.

The Lady Chapel (often called St. Joseph's Chapel) is, as I have said, the completest piece of the ruins. We have the shell of it, a beautiful late twelfth-century building of four bays, with angle turrets.

The eastern bays attached to it in Early English style form the Galilee, which joined it to the main church. The crypt was not constructed till early in the sixteenth century; old materials were then used, which tends to confuse one at first sight. The well, which is quite outside the foundation wall of the chapel, is not mentioned in any medieval record.

There is much beautiful detail in the building, though the Purbeck marble shafts, which must have been a most effective feature in the decoration, have all been made away with. But the sculptures on the two doorways, north and south, deserve a special, if brief, description, for, like those at Malmesbury, they tell a story.

NORTH DOOR. *Inner zone* (reading from left): The Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Angel (in the centre) and Shepherds; the Magi come to Herod. *Second zone:* Grotesques. Also, a woman milking a cow. The same subject occurs over one of the doors of the tower on Glastonbury Tor. *Third zone:* In ovals. Four are occupied by the Adoration of the Magi,

three by the picture of their departing. In three more we see them in bed, each being warned by an Angel. Then the Massacre of the Innocents (a soldier, Herod, a soldier, a soldier with a child, two mothers). Joseph in bed warned by an Angel. The Ass (broken) and Joseph—remains of the Flight into Egypt.

SOUTH DOOR. Only the Creation of Eve and the Fall have been carved; the rest was never done. It was evidently the intention to make this an Old Testament, or at least a Genesis, series.

The relics of the church are dreadfully meagre. A more or less perfect chapel in the north transept is conjectured to be that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Had not Leland told us about the St. Andrew's Cross arches in the transept arch, it seems unlikely that their existence would have been guessed. On the other hand, very slight traces of Abbot Monington's reconstruction of the choir do remain; but only so alert an eye as that of Professor Willis or of Mr. Bligh Bond could make much of them.

As for the monastic buildings, they may be said to be non-existent. The outside of the south aisle of the nave tells us most of what can be learned about the cloisters, for to this wall they were attached. They were rebuilt (we saw) by Abbot Chinnock (1374–1420) and were vaulted. They were about 140 feet (a little less or more) each way. Excavation has laid bare the foundations of the chapter house and frater; what we see of the latter (on the south side of the cloister) is the remains of the undercroft.

The only really intact building is the very pretty abbot's kitchen; whether it was the work of Chinnock or his successor Frome is not decided. It should by all means be entered, and the fine effigy of an Abbot, and the many fragments of tiles and carving which are stored there, be inspected.

Many pages would be needed to give an idea of the ancient splendour of the Abbey in the days of its greatest prosperity; only one or two points can be touched on here. One of the boasts of Glastonbury was that it preserved the bones of King Arthur and Guinevere. This was no part of the primitive story. The tale which has spread farthest is that in 1171 Henry II, staying at St. David's, heard from a Welsh bard the tale of Arthur's death, and burial at Avalon, and was instant with the Abbot that search should be made for the relics. But it was not till 1191, in Richard I's time, under Abbot Henry de Soliaco, that the spot indicated by the bard was searched, and the bodies discovered at a depth of sixteen feet. A leaden cross inscribed (according to the fullest form reported), "Here lies buried the renowned King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon with Guinevere his second wife," served to identify the relics, which lay in the trunk of a hollowed oak; Queen Guinevere's flaxen hair was there to be seen, but fell into dust when touched. The bones of Arthur were of gigantic size.

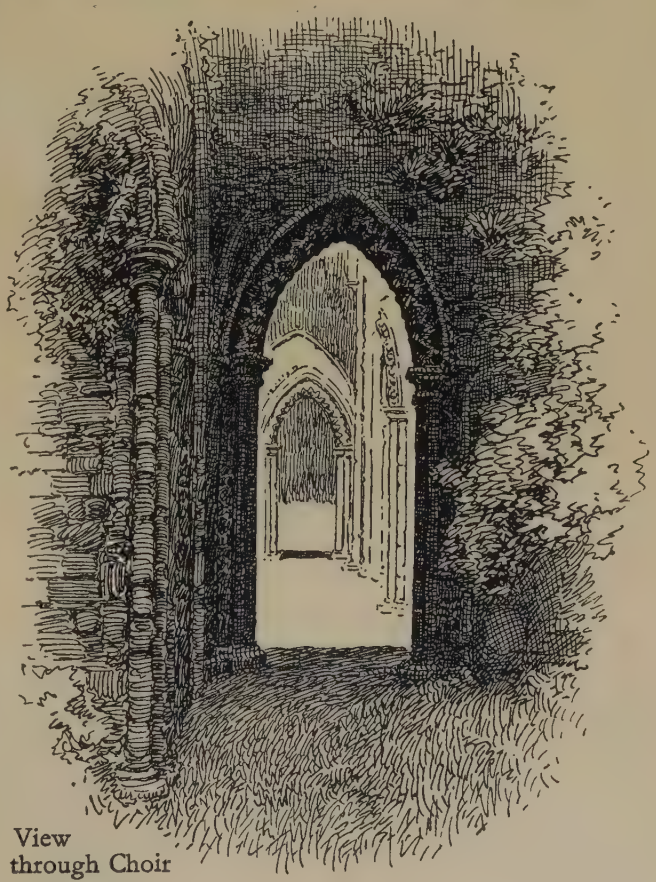
Once found, they were given a foremost place among the sacred treasures of Glastonbury; on the occasion of the visit of Edward I in 1278 they were translated to a prominent place before the high altar, and there—apparently in a tomb of black marble—they remained until the Dissolution. It seems strange that no interest whatever was shown in their preservation at that time.

That bones were indeed found in 1191 we can hardly doubt, but it was not an ancient belief that Arthur was buried in any tomb.

"A grave there is for Mark, a grave for Gwythur, a grave for Gwgawn of the Ruddy Sword; not wise the thought—a grave for Arthur," says a Welsh poet as old at least as the twelfth century, and we cannot help noting that the date of the discovery (1191) falls at a time when the monks were in a great strait for funds for the rebuilding of their church, and that so important an addition to the prestige of the place as would be conferred by Arthur's relics would have been most opportune. The identification of the bodies depended, so far as we can see, on the leaden plate.

It has been suggested that the discovery was engineered from headquarters in order to put an end to the belief in a future return of Arthur, and to British national aspirations which were prejudicial to the reigning dynasty. If that was the hope, it failed. "The Britons believe yet" (a generation later) "that Arthur is alive and dwelleth in Avalon with the fairest of all elves, and ever yet the Britons look for Arthur's coming."

Among the strange old things at Glastonbury which I most regret, unlike what any other Abbey in England could show, were certain structures which William of Malmesbury calls "pyramids" of stone, in the cemetery, carved with figures and inscriptions which even in his time were difficult to make anything of. They went back to the period of Celtic influence, and I cannot but suppose that they were something in the nature of the "high crosses" of Ireland, or the sculptured stones of Scotland, whose figures and lettering have taxed the ingenuities of the best modern antiquaries to decipher. No fragment has ever turned up which can be supposed to have belonged to one of these; the hope still remains that, built up in some house or wall, something may yet survive.



View through Choir

Had Henry VIII retained in 1539 any of the interest in literature which, as a young

man, he seems to have possessed, he would have given orders that the whole library of Glastonbury should be transferred to one of his palaces. We have a catalogue of that library, made in the thirteenth century, and it shows that the Abbey then owned a number of books so antiquated in script that the monks of the day could not read them. We have also a panegyric of Leland on the subject. He visited the place in Abbot Whiting's days, and was overcome by the sight of the venerable treasures which were shown him. Very few Glastonbury books are to be found now; but among the survivors is a wonderful old volume in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, containing, not only a picture of St. Dunstan at the feet of Christ, said to have been drawn by the Saint himself, but also a collection of extracts from the Bible in Latin and Greek, written in Wales a century before Dunstan's time, "the patriarch of all Welsh books known," which is one of the very few monuments we have of the learning of the ancient British church. This book, written partly by Celts, partly by English, marks out Glastonbury once more as the meeting-place of British and English influences and traditions.

Besides the Abbey ruins, which are the centre of interest, Glastonbury has other medieval things to show. The Abbey barn, a beautiful cruciform structure with the emblems of the Evangelists on its four gables; a gate house; the George Inn, one of the few medieval stone-built inns we have; the two churches of St. John Baptist and St. Benedict (properly St. Benignus), with their admirable towers; the Tor with *its* tower; none of these should be neglected.

But though Glastonbury rightly claims more space in our pages than any other of the Abbeys we are to notice, I feel that that space must be allotted to the central object of interest, and not to subsidiary ones.

I have advisedly refrained from saying anything of the remarkable "revelations," as they may be called, which have in recent years been laid before the public by Mr. Bligh Bond in his books, *The Gate of Remembrance*, *The Company of Avalon*, and others. The thesis of them is that communications can be and are received by means of automatic writing, from men who in ancient times were connected with Glastonbury, and it is by means of these that he believes himself to have been led to the discovery of the Edgar Chapel, and of that of Loretto. Here is obviously a highly controversial field, into which I do not feel myself called upon to enter.

THE foundation of Malmesbury is attributed to an Irish hermit, Maeldubh (or Maildulf, as he came to be called later) about the middle of the seventh century. But St. Aldhelm—the first really book-learned Englishman—who died in 709, was the great initiator of monastic life here, where he was Abbot for thirty years, and his relics, enshrined in silver by King Ethelwulf, were in later days a principal treasure of the place. In 941 Athelstan, whose benefactions to the town are still in being, was buried in the church; the tomb still to be seen is a comparatively late piece of work. Athelstan was a great lover and collector of relics; to Malmesbury he presented part of the true Cross, and of the Crown of Thorns, which, with the sword of Constantine (containing a nail of the Passion) and the Holy Lance, had been brought to him at Abingdon about 926, by an embassy from France.

Dunstan also played a part in helping and beautifying the church, to which he gave an organ; and it was in his days that the true Benedictine Rule was established. Fires and rebuildings which have left no visible trace need not be recorded here. When William of Malmesbury wrote—about 1143—a pre-Conquest church which he described as fairer than anything in England was still standing; but very soon after that the church, of which a splendid fragment remains, must have been taken in hand. The original eastern end of this was an apse with three apsidal chapels, but in the thirteenth century the presbytery was lengthened eastward by three bays, no doubt to provide more room for pilgrims to St. Aldhelm's shrine, and, at an unknown date, an eastern Lady Chapel was added.

Next, Abbot William of Colerne (1260–96) rebuilt most of the domestic buildings. In the fourteenth century a central tower was added which had a tall spire of wood and lead. This spire fell down about 1541. It was, says Leland, 'a marke to al the countre about.' Late in the same century a western tower was built over the two west bays of the nave. It was badly constructed, in spite of the measures (blocking up part of the triforium, etc.), which were taken to strengthen it, and some time after the fall of the central tower, it also fell, northward, destroying much of the nave wall and the vaulting. A wall was then built across the church, which we see now, and the ruined remains patched up.

Before these catastrophes—about the year 1480—William of Worcester—the first of our antiquaries, as he is sometimes called—wrote down in his notebook the dimensions of the church as paced by him. The length of nave and choir works out at about 280 feet, and the Lady Chapel about 40 feet more. The breadth 68½ feet. The cloister measured 104 feet each way.

The surrender to the King took place on December 15, 1539, and the annual value of the Abbey was reckoned at £830. Twenty monks and the Abbot received pensions. The first grantee was Sir Edward Baynton; it was decided that all the buildings except the Abbot's lodging and stables and two gatehouses should be done away with. Mr. William Stumpe, a rich clothier of the place

(to whom the Abbey was ultimately granted for the sum of £1516), gave the nave of the church to the parishioners to replace their rather ruinous parish church, and it was licensed by Cranmer in 1541. Of the rest of the buildings, as we shall see, Stumpe or his successors made a clean sweep.

What remains, then, is the nave and its aisles, mutilated at the west end by the fall of the tower. At the east end—outside the present church—are the ruins of the crossing and the transepts, consisting of the north and west arches of the crossing, a good part of the west wall of the south transept, and bits of the east and west walls of the north. The upper parts of crossing and transepts were remodelled in the fourteenth century.

Of the nave (originally consisting of nine bays, and measuring 122 feet in length) we now have the six eastern bays complete and the whole of the south aisle.

Surveying it from the outside, on the south, you will note that practically all the windows have been remodelled. The three eastern bays of the clerestory (on both sides) have a unique feature: the windows are surrounded by flat circular discs or plaques. These belong to the Norman work; farther west, walls and windows of the upper stage were all remodelled in the fourteenth century, and the flying buttresses were added. The three-light windows of the aisle have curious tracery. The central opening at the top, as Mr. Brakspear ingeniously divines, would have contained glass representing six-winged seraphim. On the north side you will see that the windows are set higher up than on the south, in order to be clear of the roof of the cloister.

The south porch is the really distinguished feature of Malmesbury. Though repaired in other parts, it has retained the figure-sculpture of the entrance arch; and since this is almost unique in England, I shall enumerate the subjects represented.

In reading the series, remember that the medallions on the *upright* shafts are not connected in subject with those on the *arches*. Besides this, they are very much defaced.

INNERMOST ARCH.—Upright shaft on left, reading from below upwards: (1) Mutilated seated figure, (2, 3) Quite gone, (4) Single figure, (5) Peacock, (6) Man turning somersault backwards, (7) Two beasts back to back, (8) Angel.

ARCH.—Reading from left, eleven medallions: (1) Christ creates

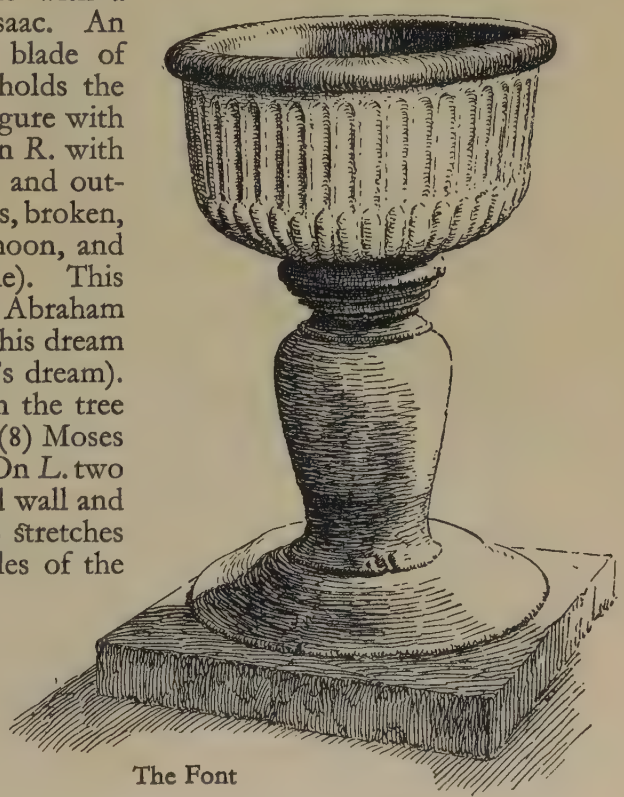
East View

Adam; (2) Creates Eve—Adam lies on *L.*; (3) The Tree of Knowledge forbidden —on *L.* the Tree, then Christ, Adam, Eve; (4) The Fall—Adam on *L.*, Eve takes the apple from the serpent's mouth; (5) Adam and Eve crouching behind two trees; (6) (keystone) Christ facing *L.*—He holds what may be a scroll [5 and 6 form one subject]; (7) The Expulsion; (8) An Angel gives a spade to Adam (on *L.*) and a distaff to Eve; (9) Eve sits spinning on *L.*; Adam digs; (10) Probably the Birth of Cain, Eve (?) on *L.* with a child on her lap, Adam (?) on *R.*; (11) Much broken; a figure on *L.* leans on a staff; a mutilated figure in centre; a smaller one on *R.* faces *L.*—probably this represents the Death of Cain, who, according to tradition, was shot by the arrow of the blind Lamech, whose hand was guided by the youth, Tubal Cain.

UPRIGHT SHAFT ON RIGHT, reading downwards: (1, 2, 3) Single figures, mutilated, (4) Two figures conversing, (5) Single figure, (6, 7, 8) Quite gone.

SECOND ARCH.—Upright shaft on left, reading upwards: (1) Crouching figure, (2, 3) Gone, (4) Two fish (?), (5) Seated figure, (6) Figure with knees somewhat bent, (7) Two figures standing, (8) Angel.

ARCH, reading from left: fourteen medallions, (1) Christ gives axe to Noah, bidding him build the ark; (2) Noah works at making the ark; (3) The ark with seven or eight figures in it, one with a steering paddle; (4) Sacrifice of Isaac. An angel flies down and holds the blade of Abraham's sword; (5) Abraham holds the horns of the ram (on *R.*); (6) A figure with halo on *L.* speaks to one seated on *R.* with staff. Over the head of the latter and outside the medallion is a rounded mass, broken, which might represent the sun, moon, and stars (or possibly the heads of cattle). This is perhaps God showing the stars to Abraham (Gen. xv. 5), or else Joseph telling his dream to Jacob (or interpreting Pharaoh's dream). (7) The Burning Bush; God is in the tree on *L.*; Moses takes off his shoe; (8) Moses (with Aaron) strikes the rock; (9) On *L.* two figures sit on top of a battlemented wall and look up. On *R.* Moses (horned) stretches his hand to *L.* and takes the Tables of the Law (?) from a hand (or head) on the edge of the medallion. (10) Samson rends the lion; (11) Samson carries the gates of Gaza; (12) Samson pulls down two pillars; figures seen on the roof above;



The Font

(13) David rescues the lamb from the lion; (14) David about to sling at Goliath.

UPRIGHT SHAFT ON RIGHT, reading downwards: (1) Man about to kill a beast, (2) Angel (?), (3) Single figure, (4) Gone, (5) Single figure, (6, 7, 8) Gone.

OUTERMOST ARCH. Upright shaft on left, reading upwards: four groups of Virtues overcoming Vices, number 1 quite defaced. The corresponding shaft on right had four similar groups. The subject was a favourite one; it was taken from a poem by the great Christian poet Prudentius. There are several manuscripts of this, copiously illustrated, and perhaps the finest is one now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which actually belonged to Malmesbury in old times. The poem was called the "Psychomachia," or combat of the soul.

ARCH, reading from left: thirteen medallions; each occupying two stones: (1) The Annunciation; (2) The Nativity; (3) The lower part of three figures; either the Angel and the Shepherds or the Magi on their journey; (4) Three figures, probably the Magi bringing their gifts; (5) The Virgin carries the Child towards the building on *R.*; The Presentation; Joseph (?) on *L.*; (6) The Baptism of Christ; (7) The Entry into Jerusalem; (8) The Last Supper; (9) Christ on the Cross; The Virgin and St. John; (10) The Entombment; (11) The Resurrection; (12) The Ascension; (13) Pentecost.

Within the porch on right and left are two very remarkable bas-reliefs. Each represents six seated Apostles and an Angel flying (horizontally) above them. They cannot (as is sometimes said) be earlier in date than the rest of the sculptures.

Over the inner door is another interesting sculpture of Christ in glory.

We enter the church. Each bay of the nave consists of three stages. The lowest has short cylindrical pillars and slightly pointed arches. The triforium has a single round arch enclosing four smaller ones. The clerestory, as we saw, has been remodelled.

The organ (in its proper place, in a western gallery) was originally in a London church, St. Benet Fink; it dates from 1714.

When the eastern part of the church was pulled down, the arch at the east end was built up. The lower part of the wall is an old stone screen, solid, with a cornice bearing the badges of Henry VII, and the royal arms in the middle over a doorway which once led into the choir.

The monks' choir was under the crossing and extended into one bay of the presbytery. Thus, the screen we see at the east end was the east screen of the "pulpitum." Going west, you will see in the aisles an open-work stone screen; this formerly went all across the church. The loft of the pulpitum covered in the space between these two screens.

At the third pair of pillars (going farther west) was another screen, and over it the rood-beam. In the triforium above is a stone box-like projection which held the organs. And between this rood-screen and the next screen eastward was the space called the retrochoir. West of the rood-screen was the nave altar for lay folks.

MALMESBURY ABBEY: SOUTH PORCH

Facing page 30

MALMESBURY ABBEY: SOUTH SIDE

Going westward you find a chapel reconstructed in recent years out of the ruined bays of the south aisle and set aside for private devotion.

The west end shows the ruins of the Norman work, and a bit of the large window which was put in in the fourteenth century when the west tower was built. There is also a fragment of the arch of the door. Three medallions remain on the southern side, and a capital carved with a centaur. The medallions seem to represent a man cutting up a beast, a man carrying buckets, and one seated at table; perhaps the occupations of the twelve months and the signs of the Zodiac were here.

The monastic buildings were on the north, and very little remains. The cloister had eight clear bays on each side; it was rebuilt and vaulted fan-wise in the fifteenth century after the manner of Gloucester, and had a very fine heraldic tile pavement. The doorways from cloister into church remain.

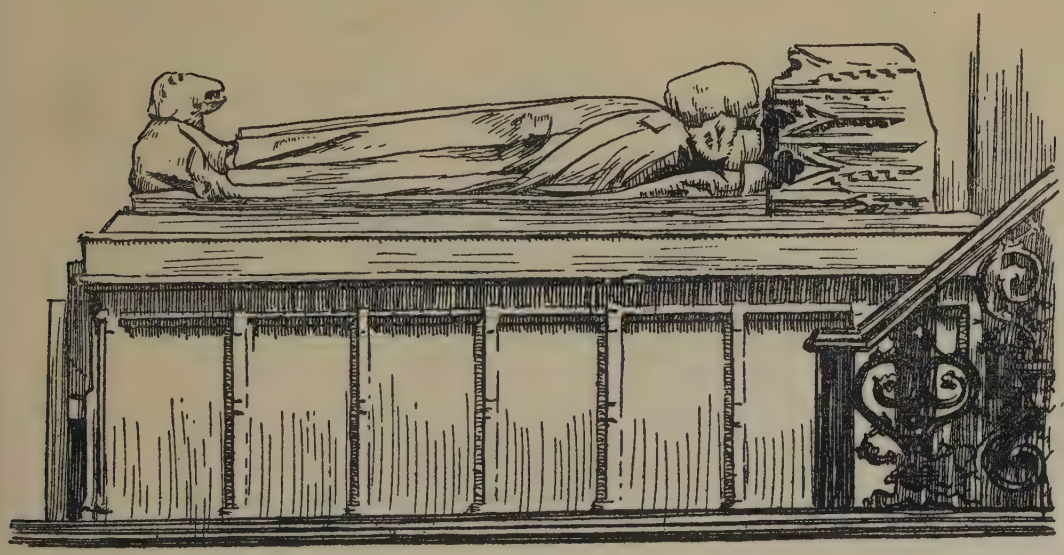
Next to the north wall of the north transept would be a passage leading eastward into the monks' cemetery.

Then the chapter house.

The dorter, says Mr. Brakspear, must have stood east and west, in consequence of the steep fall of the ground on the north. Usually it stood north and south, over the chapter house, etc. The frater ran along the north side, opposite to the church. The kitchen was at its west end.

Nothing of all this is visible. In the Bell Hotel, west of the church, are some old rooms which may have been part of a guest house. And on the north-east, in the fine old "Abbey House," is a vault of the thirteenth century, over which may have been the rere-dorter of the monks.

In the room over the south porch are some relics connected with the Abbey, and old views of it. But the most interesting thing is a fine manuscript Bible of the year 1407, given not many years ago by the Earl of Suffolk. It is in four



King Athelstan's Tomb

volumes, and was written for a monastic house near Brussels (Chapelle en Bois). The receipt of the scribe, or person responsible for the work, Gerard Brils, is preserved with it, written in Flemish. Each of the Books of the Bible has a fine illumination prefixed to it; the Books are arranged in the order in which they were read in the refectory; the Psalter and Gospels, which were not so read, are absent.

Other buildings in Malmesbury besides the Abbey which deserve to be looked at are the Market Cross, and the remains of the Hospital of St. John in the lower part of the town.

The Abbey has one special claim to remembrance in that it produced the best historian of our country between Bede in the seventh century and Matthew Paris in the thirteenth, namely William of Malmesbury, a writer of real distinction and intelligence. Besides composing the historical works by which he is chiefly remembered, "The Deeds of the Kings and of the Bishops," he wrote on the ancient history of Glastonbury and made collections of extracts from classical and Christian authors, which show that he read widely, and that the library of his Abbey was a rich one. Very few existing manuscripts, alas! can be traced to it now.

Market Cross

THIS, the greatest church in Dorset, was founded by King Ina as the seat of a bishop in 705. A bishopric it remained till 1075, when it was finally transferred to Old Sarum. There had been, in the intervening centuries, a diminishing of its importance. Itself cut out of the old diocese of Winchester, it had two dioceses cut out of it, Wells (for Somerset), and Crediton (for Devon), at the beginning of the tenth century; soon after, a diocese of Wilts was created and its bishop placed at Ramsbury, near Hungerford (Wilton and Sonning were other residences), so that Sherborne was now confined to Dorset. It was united to Ramsbury in 1058, by the same Bishop, Herman, who eventually moved to Sarum.

The first of its bishops was St. Aldhelm, the first Englishman who has left us literary works in Latin. He was the master of a very tortuous and elaborate style, but he was genuinely learned, and was recognised, even as far off as Spain, as an author to be quoted and admired. He was a poet and a musician. There is a well-known story of his stationing himself by the wayside with his harp and attracting the people by his English songs and then teaching the faith to the crowd that had assembled. Those English songs have perished, but we have much Latin verse of his, and some of it, especially a series of riddles, has poetic value.

About a hundred years later Asser was bishop here; a Welshman who wrote a famous book, *The Life of King Alfred.* Alfred was a generous benefactor to Sherborne.

Other bishops of Sherborne fell fighting against the Danes; Ealhstan about 845 gained a decisive victory over them.

There was from an uncertain date an establishment of religious persons at Sherborne; latterly, secular canons. They were displaced in favour of Benedictine monks by the Bishop St. Wulfsy or Wulsin, about 978. Not until 1122 did the bishop (now no longer resident here) give up the headship of the Abbey, which thenceforth had a regular abbot of its own.

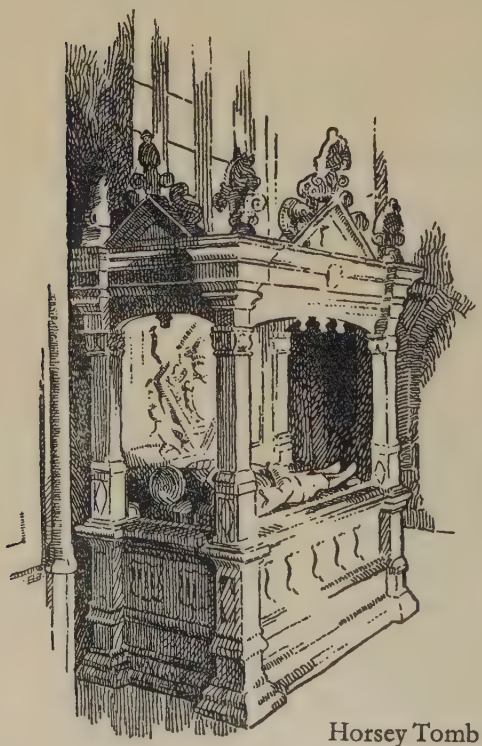
The special saint of Sherborne was not so much St. Aldhelm, who was buried at Malmesbury, as St. Wulsin; and also St. Ithwara, or Juthwara, a maid slain by her wicked brother; she was sister to an Exeter saint, Sidwell or Sativola.

The event which had the most permanent effect on the fabric of the Abbey is well described by Leland, writing about 1540: "The body of the Abbey Church dedicate to Our Lady served ontille a hundrith yeres syns for the chief paroche church of the town. This was the cause of the abolition of the paroche church there; the monks and the townesmenne felle at variance bycause the townesmenne tooke privilege to use the Sacrament of Baptisme in the Chappelle of Alhalowes, whereupon one Walter Gallor a stoute bocher dwelling in Sherburne defacid clene the font stone [that is, the font in the Abbey Church;

All Hallows was a church built by the town in the fourteenth century. It was joined to the west end of the Abbey Church, and remains of it are visible there. It seems to have been an important building] and aftyr, the variance growing to a playne sedition, and the townesmenne by the mene of an erle of Huntendone lying in those quarters and taking the towne's part, and the bishops of Saresbyri the monks' part, a prest of Alhalowes shot a shaft with fier into the toppe of that part of St. Mary Church that divided the Est part that the monks usyd from that the townesmenne usid; and this partition chancing at that tyme to be thakkid (thatched) in, the roffe was set afier and consequently al the hole church, the lede and bells melted, was defacid. Then Bradeford, Abbate of Sherburne (1436–59), persecuted this injurie, and the townesmenne were forced to contribute to the re-edifying of this church. . . . Al the Est part of St. Mary's Church was re-edyfied in Abbate Bradeford's tyme, saving a chapelle of Our Lady, an old piece of worke that the fier came not to, by reson that it was of an elder building."

Leland also tells us that Abbot Ramsam (1475–1504) did building at the west end, but "the porche of the south side of the body of St. Marie Churche ys an ancient pece of worke and was not defacid with fyer bycause it stode with a far lower rofe then the body of the churche did."

We shall return to the history of the buildings. Before that, it has to be said that the last Abbot, John Barnstable, with sixteen monks, surrendered the Abbey to the King in 1539. The annual value was then £612. The site was granted to Sir John Horsey, who sold the church to the town for one hundred marks; the only mutilation it then suffered was the partial removal of the Eastern Lady Chapel. The Church of All Hallows must have disappeared about this time.


Horsey Tomb

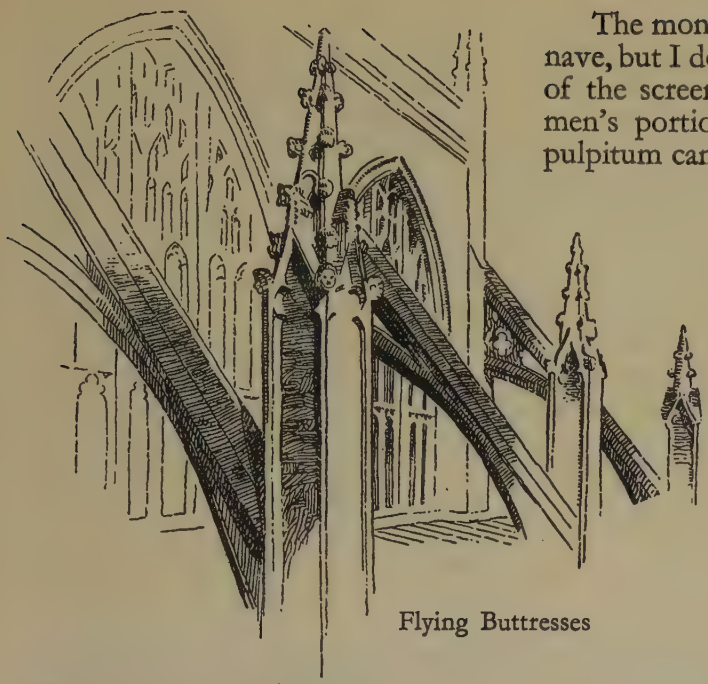
The Abbey Church is a Norman building converted into a Perpendicular one. Slight remains of pre-Norman work are traceable at the west end, "the doorway on the north side of the west wall, a portion of the wall adjacent, and some faint indications of a western porch." These have been assigned to Aldhelm's time; I know not if so early a date is still accepted. The south porch, we have seen, escaped the fire; it is Norman, very much restored.

The nave is of five bays with aisles, restored by Abbot Ramsam late in the fifteenth century. The fan vaulting is exceedingly fine. I miss the "handsome organ," which in 1700 was placed in a western gallery.

SHERBORNE ABBEY: THE CHOIR

Facing page 34

SHERBORNE ABBEY AND LADY CHAPEL



Flying Buttresses

The monks' choir extended into the nave, but I do not know that the position of the screens marking off the townsmen's portion and the retro-choir and pulpitum can be traced.

The restoration of this part of the church dates from 1849. The whole building was put into its present condition by the munificence of the Digby family.

But I digress. More Norman work can be seen in the walls of the nave aisles, and the arches leading to the transepts. The central tower is Norman up to the bell-chamber floor; the transept walls are also largely Norman, and in the east wall of the south transept a trace of the Norman clerestory can be seen outside.

In the north transept is the organ; in the south the "very superb" monument of John, Earl of Bristol (*d.* 1698); also Pope's epitaphs on two Digbys who died early.

The aisled choir of three bays, fan-vaulted like the nave, but earlier, has been described as the "most perfect piece of Perpendicular work in existence." The Norman choir was co-extensive with it, and Norman work survives in the chapels on the north. Both in nave and choir the triforium stage was obliterated in the fifteenth-century restoration.

The eastern ambulatory led to the Lady Chapel, a thirteenth-century addition which survived the fire. Two bays of it were pulled down at the Suppression. What was left, together with a later chapel of Our Lady of Bow, added by Abbot Ramsam on the south of the other, was made in the sixteenth century into a house for the Master of the School; a very delightful domestic front was made for it. In recent years the remains have been given back to the church, opened out and made into a War Memorial Chapel, but the late façade has been rightly preserved. Work is still (1925) going on.

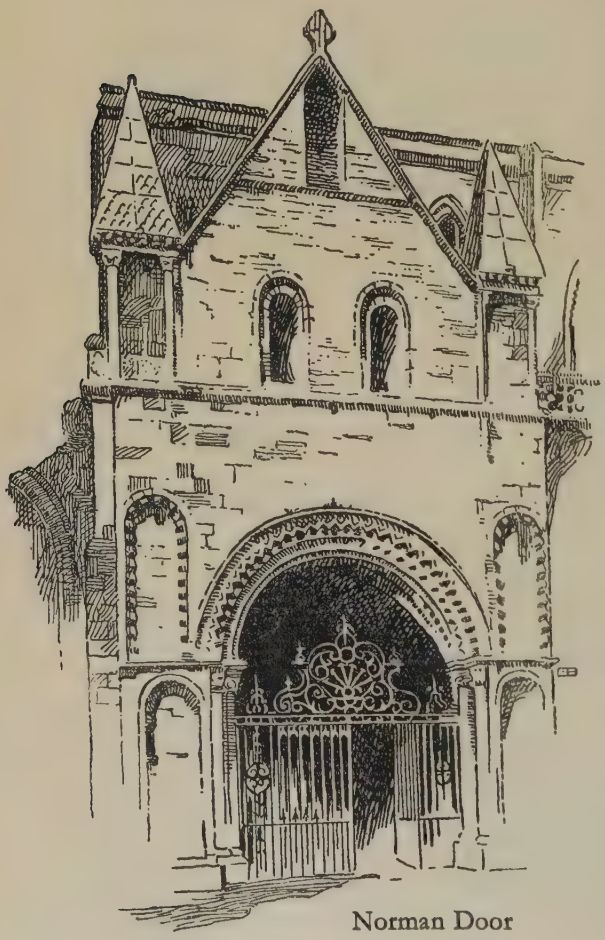
The tombs of the West Saxon Kings, Ethelbald (*d.* 860), and Ethelbert (*d.* 866)—the latter found in June 1925—are in this part of the building.

Not much of ancient furniture is in the choir. There are fifteenth-century stalls with misericord seats. In the chapel of Bishop Roger, north of the north choir aisle, are some ancient effigies; one is of Abbot Clement, 1163.

There is no old glass left. Probably the Abbey was very rich in this. A good deal of heraldry survived till the seventeenth century at least.

We return to Leland for an account of the monastic buildings: "The cloyster of the Abbey on the north side of the Church was buildyd by one Abbate Frithe (1349–63). This Abbate was not very long afore Bradeford's tyme. Myer (or Mere), the last Abbate of Shirburne saving one, made the fair castel over the conduit in the cloister and the spouts of it. [This conduit is now at the bottom of Cheap Street.] The Chapiter House ys ancient, and in the volte of it be payntid the image of bishops that had ther sete at Shirburne."

All that is left of the buildings now belongs to the School, by the gift of Lord Digby in 1857. Long used for a silk manufactory and other purposes, they have of necessity been extensively remodelled. Cloister, chapter house, and frater are gone. The slype remains on the east, and a fragment of the dorter over it. On the south, a piscina on the first floor level shows that there was an upper storey and a chapel. On the north, the Abbots' Hall, a fifteenth-century structure, on a Norman under-croft, is the School Chapel. On the west is the Guest Hall, now the Library: it is of the fifteenth century on a thirteenth-century sub-structure. The entrance to the Abbots' Lodging has niches over it, and there is a fine chimney. The Kitchen also survives. Except in holiday-time it is not practicable to gain access to all these buildings.



Norman Door

In the School the Abbey may be said to live still, for there was doubtless always a school of some kind attached thereto. This one was re-founded by Edward VI, but there is really nothing of a break in its history. May it, with our other great schools, always flourish, as it does now!

A last text from Leland:—"The Prior of Shirburne lying in the town can bring me to the old librarie yn Shirburne." This must have been written fairly soon after the Dissolution. The Prior is ejected, but lodging in the town; the library has not been dispersed. We have no catalogue of it, but it may safely be presumed to have been really ancient and valuable. Nothing is left—

speaking broadly,—but there are two Service Books, an early Missal at Paris, and a later one at Alnwick, the property of the Duke of Northumberland, and this stands far ahead of all the books of its time for the magnificence of its plan and the splendour of its decoration. It was written between 1396 and 1407 by John Whas, monk of Sherborne, and illuminated by John Sifrewas, a Dominican friar, and other less accomplished artists. It is an enormous volume, twenty-one inches high, of 347 leaves, most of which have some pictured decoration. In it, besides the Bible-pictures and Saints appropriate to the text, portraits of the early bishops and abbots, the kings who granted charters, and so forth, is a wonderful series of studies of English birds, each with its name attached, most carefully drawn and coloured.

The Hospital of SS. John, Baptist and Evangelist (refounded in 1437), quite close to the church, has some very interesting curiosities to show: notably a triptych with paintings of the Raising of Lazarus, Jesus casting out a devil, and the Raising of the youth at Nain and of Jairus' daughter. It is of late fifteenth century and probably Flemish. The chapel windows (south) have some old glass.

Three Seat Carvings

THE Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary here was an ancient foundation. Fables are told of a Briton named Aben, of noble descent, who escaped from Hengist's massacre of his countrymen at Stonehenge and retired to a hermitage on a hill (either in Sunningwell parish or in Cumnor—not at Abingdon), called after him Abendon; to which place many resorted and built for Aben a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. This will have been in the fifth century. In 675 Heanus, the nephew of Cissa (founder of Cissbury), left the world and sought a place wherein to live a religious life. He came upon the old hermitage of Aben and built a monastery there, which his uncle endowed. He had a sister called Cilla, and she about the same time founded a nunnery in honour of the Holy Cross and St. Helen at Helenstow on the Thames—now represented by St. Helen's Church at Abingdon. She possessed a portion of one of the nails of the Passion, which she caused to be inserted into an iron cross, and when she died this was laid on her breast in the grave. Three hundred years later, in Ethelwold's time, a drain was being dug, and the workmen found this cross. It was translated with honour to the monastery and there, under the name of the Black Cross, it was the great relic of the place. A figure of it is preserved which shows a Maltese cross within a ring at the end of a handle. But I am anticipating. Heanus founded his monastery, we saw, on Abendon Hill, but he could make no progress; all that he built one day fell down on the morrow. A hermit who lived in Cumnor Wood came to him and told him of a vision he had had, of men with

The Gateway

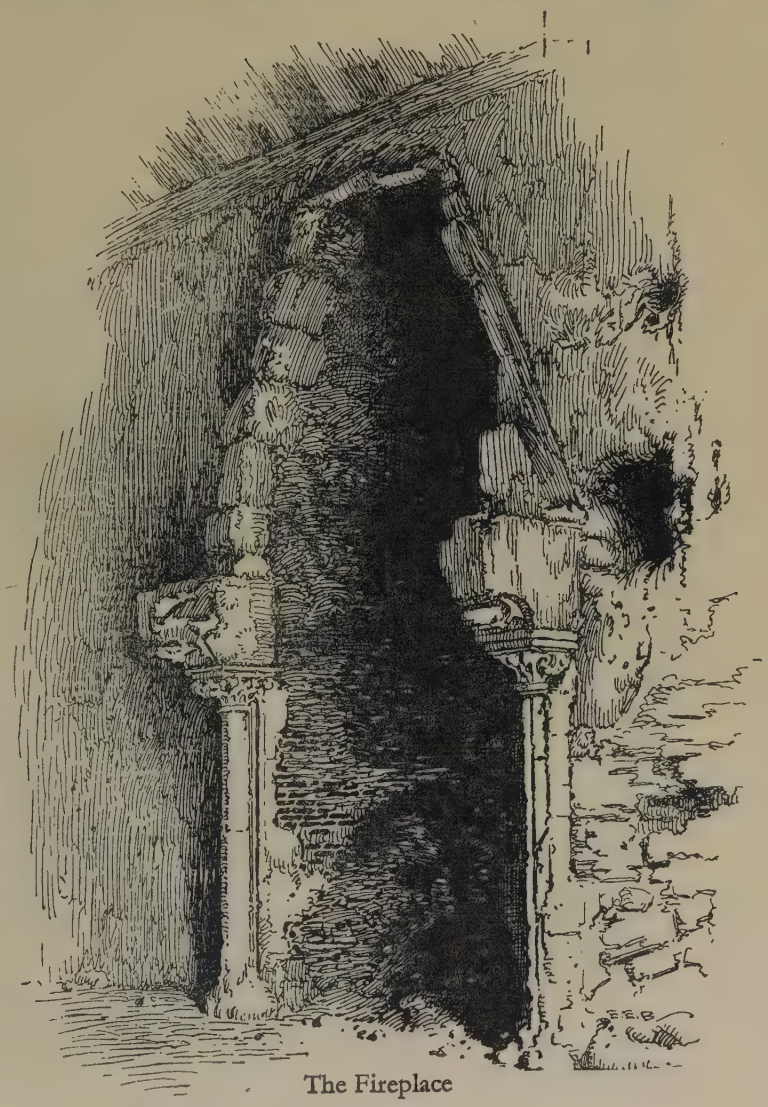
ABINGDON ABBEY

ABINGDON ABBEY: CHIMNEY OF THE PRIOR'S LODGING

carts taking stone and timber away from the site of the buildings. He had rebuked them, and they replied: "Go and tell Heanus that God wills not to have a church built here, but at Seovechesham, where the place shall be marked out for him by a sign."

Now, Seovechesham was a site which Cissa had given to Heanus. Thither Heanus went, and found near the Thames a foundation marked out by furrows. So he moved the site of his Abbey to Seovechesham and called the place Abingdon.

This is the tale of the beginnings of Abingdon—the most picturesque part of its history, and undoubtedly marking it out as a very early foundation. The salient points of the later history are these: the total destruction of the place by the Danes in the ninth century; the taking over of the estates—save a small portion—by King Alfred; the revival, and establishment of the regular Benedictine observance, by St. Ethelwold, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, in about 950; the abbacy of Faricius (an Italian, who came here from Malmesbury in 1100). He began a new church to the south of the old one, and it seems likely that the eastern part of this survived to the end. The completed church was dedicated in 1239. In the fifteenth century four successive abbots made great additions, rebuilding the nave, and constructing a central and two western towers. The surrender was made on February 23, 1539, by Thomas Pentecost or Rowland, last Abbot; he and twenty-four



The Fireplace

monks received pensions. The annual value is variously stated at £1876 and £2042.

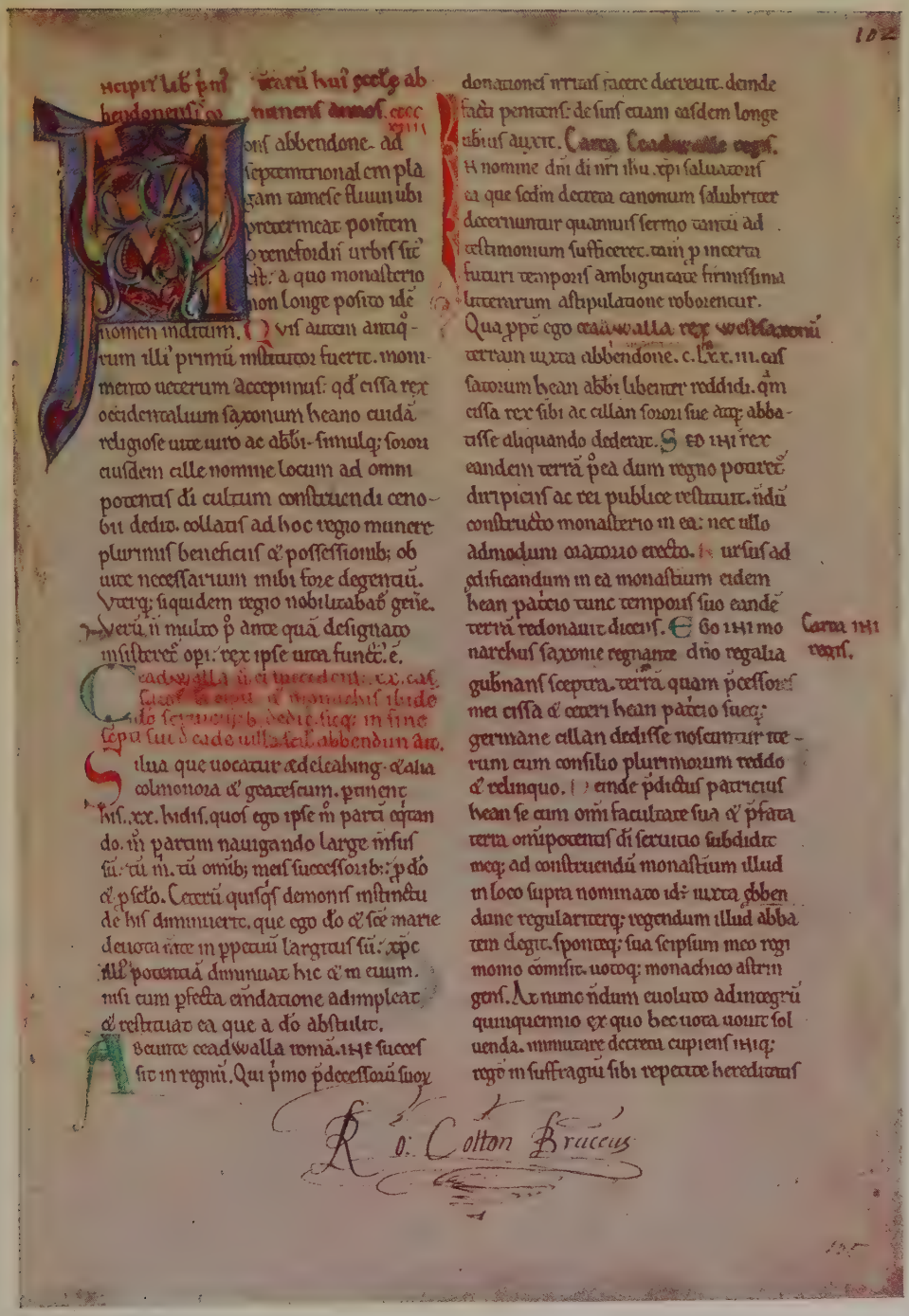
William of Worcester, so often quoted in these pages, gives us a jejune, but, we hope, accurate account of the dimensions of the Abbey Church, from which we gather that it consisted of a nave with aisles, of twelve bays, transepts with chapels, and choir with eastern Lady Chapel. The total length was about 300 feet (Nave 180, Choir 65, Lady Chapel 36, Crossing 36). We have to depend upon William of Worcester, for the church is wholly gone. There is, indeed, very little left of any of the buildings.

The gate house spanning the road is much restored; on the left it is flanked by the church of St. Nicholas, built by Abbot Nicholas of Culham (1289–1307). In the window of the north chapel of this church are some slightly unusual remains of old glass in the tracery lights, scrolls, each proceeding from a hand in a cloud; they bear English words which, deciphered, show them to have been a version of the Ten Commandments, now much out of order.

The main buildings of the Abbey were on the left as you proceed up the road through the gate house, but they are gone; what survives is part of the domestic buildings, on the right. A house which is reckoned to have been part of the Prior's lodging has a very beautiful chimney of the thirteenth century with gabled top and triple openings therein. This house is not readily accessible to visitors, but to another building of interest hard by they are admitted. (A notice by the gate house shows where the key may be got.) This may have been a guest house. It is a long structure in two storeys; the eastern part being a fine timbered gallery, while at the west end are, below, a vaulted undercroft, and above, two chambers, in one of which are the remains of a beautiful fireplace.

The Cloisters

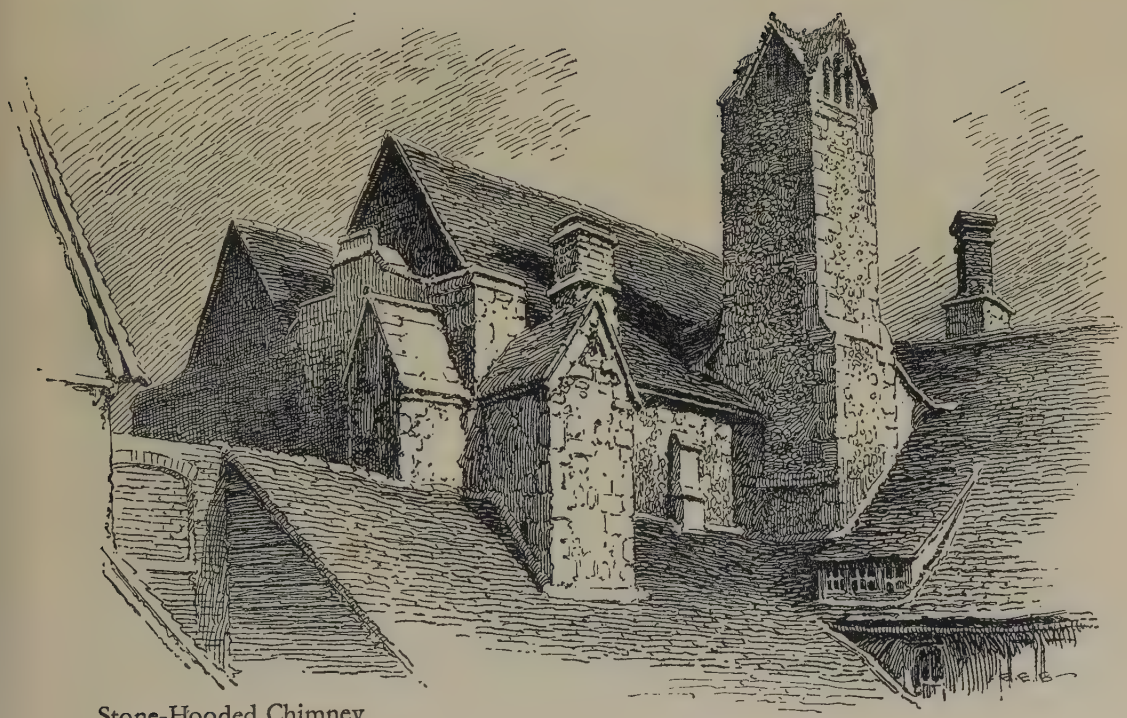
The library of the Abbey must have been of good quality. One of the manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle



CHRONICLE OF ABINGDON ABBEY, late XII Cent. British Museum, Cotton MS. Claudius C.IX. f. 105.

(Tiberius B. I.) is traced to it; another, a fourteenth-century chronicle of the Abbey, at Trinity College, Cambridge, is most unusual in form—very tall and narrow—but finely written and illuminated; a third, a twelfth-century copy of Florence of Worcester, at Lambeth (No. 42), is one of the most beautiful pieces of plain writing and austere decoration that I know. The total number of extant Abingdon books is inconsiderable.

The town is full of interest. St. Helen's Church—surprisingly broad (it has five aisles)—is well worth a visit; it has among other things an organ-case of the right type. Christ's Hospital, just west of it, supposed to stand on or near the site of the old Anglo-Saxon nunnery, is exceedingly picturesque. So is the Town Hall, and so are many old houses which the visitor will easily discover for himself.



Stone-Hooded Chimney

ON the seal of Evesham Abbey, a very curious composition of the thirteenth century, the story of the foundation is told in a series of pictures. We see a swineherd looking up at a vision of the Virgin among trees, and by this is written (unique in such a place) an old English rhyme :

> " *Eoves her wonede ant was swon*
> *For thi men clepet this Eovisham.*"

that is :

> " *Eoves dwelt here, and his swine,*
> *Therefore men call this Evesham.*"

Eoves was the swineherd of Egwin (third bishop of Worcester, 692), and, having seen this vision, he reported it to Egwin, who sought the spot and was also favoured with a vision of the Virgin, who bade him found a monastery there. This vision also is shown on the seal, and the Virgin is saying " *Ecce locus quem elegi* " : " This is the place I have chosen."

Three princes, Ethelred of Mercia, Kenred of Mercia, and Offa of East Anglia, gave many lands to Egwin. With Kenred and Offa he journeyed to Rome in 709 and obtained privileges from Pope Constantine. To a former journey to Rome made by Egwin belongs apparently the most famous legend connected with his name. By way of penance for the sins of his youth he put iron fetters on his legs, which were fastened by a key, and the key he threw into the Avon, vowing not to free himself but to wait till God did so, or till the key came back to him, Either in the Channel (as the earlier story says), or at Rome, a great fish was caught and brought to him which had the key in its stomach. Fetters and a fish are therefore the symbols of St. Egwin.

His Abbey passed through the stages which become familiar to historians of English monastic houses. It was laid waste by the Danes late in the ninth century, re-established early in the tenth, when secular canons were introduced. They, like others all over England, were expelled in the great monastic reform in which Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald (of Worcester and York) were the prime movers. Oswald did the work here (in 960–70), but the monks are recorded to have been expelled and again reinstated before a final settlement was effected in favour of the Benedictine Rule.

Egwin's original church fell down in the Abbacy of Osward (late tenth century) and we do not know what buildings there were for the next generation or two. Egelwin, made Abbot by Edward the Confessor in 1058, made great preparations for a new church and increased the number of monks. Walter, the first Norman Abbot (1077), like others of his time and nation, was very active in building. It is recorded of him that he mistrusted the sanctity of the

EVESHAM BELL TOWER FROM EAST

Facing page 42

EVESHAM: ARCH OF CHAPTER HOUSE

relics of certain Saxon saints—St. Credan, a former Abbot, and St. Wistan, a Mercian King who had been murdered or martyred in 850 and was first buried at Repton. Abbot Walter tested these relics by casting them into a large fire, but they stood the proof.

Besides these Saints, St. Wilsin, or Wulsy, an anchorite of the neighbourhood, and St. Odulf, a Canon of Utrecht, whose relics had been bought in the eleventh century for £100, were honoured at Evesham.

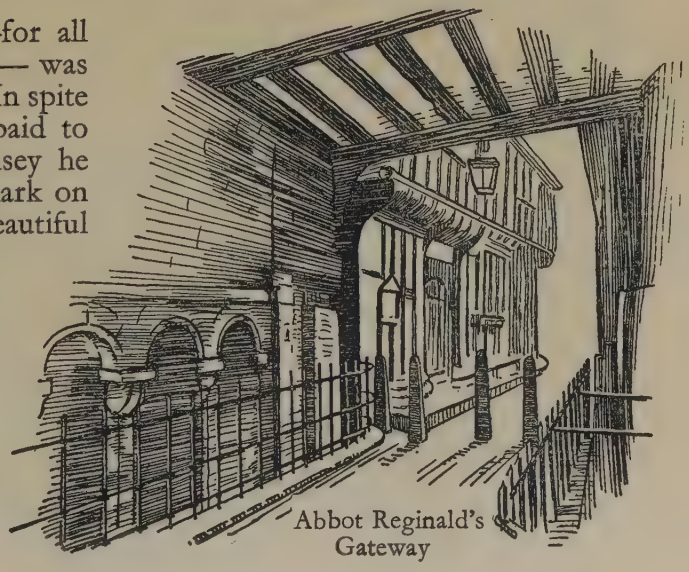
An unusual thing happened in William II's reign. Twelve monks were sent by him to Denmark to found a Priory at Odense in Funen. English influence was strong there; the principal church was dedicated to St. Alban in 1101. The Priory was long subject to Evesham.

Late in the twelfth century there was an active building Abbot, Adam, a French monk; he finished the nave of the church, and the cloister. Early in the thirteenth came Thomas of Marlborough, whose benefactions, recorded apparently by himself, were many and various. He had a good deal of repairing to do, for in 1207 the great tower of the church had fallen and done much damage. The story of his long fight for the privileges of the Abbey cannot be told here. But there is a very interesting list of the books which he gave or purchased or caused to be written; and this also is noteworthy—that he placed in the choir a window representing the story of St. Egwin.

One relic of his work may have survived, in the shape of a finely carved reading desk with a figure of St. Egwin on it, which was dug up before 1800 on the site of the church and is now in Norton church, three miles off. The Abbot is recorded to have set up a lectern "behind the choir."

Of the fourteenth-century Abbots, John de Brockhampton (1316) built a fine new chapter house, and is sometimes credited also with a new Lady Chapel; and William de Boys (1367) gave two great bells called Mary and Egwin.

The last Abbot but one—for all practical purposes the last — was Clement Lichfield (1514–39). In spite of the heavy sums which he paid to the King and to Cardinal Wolsey he was able to set an enduring mark on the Abbey, for he built the beautiful tower which still stands, and added a pretty chapel to each of the two parish churches, one of which stood due north of the great church, and the other (St. Laurence) near its north-west corner. He resigned in 1539, unwilling to surrender the monastery;



Abbot Reginald's Gateway

and a young monk, Philip Hawford, was put in to carry the business through and earn for it a pension, and, later, the deanery of Worcester. The end came in the same year, 1539. The annual value of the Abbey is given as either somewhat over or under £1200. The grantee was Philip Hobbye.

As was the case at Bury St. Edmund's, there were two parish churches standing in the same churchyard as the Abbey Church. So there was, unhappily, no need that any part of the latter should be preserved, and it was not. There is absolutely nothing to be seen of it above ground.

The site was explored with enthusiasm and intelligence by Mr. Rudge, a former owner, in 1811, and his resultant plan is to be seen in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. 5. He found that the church was 281 feet long, with an aisled nave of eight bays, a central tower, transepts 116 feet across, a large crypt under the choir, with four rows of columns (the upper part of the choir being wholly gone), and another crypt south of this. South of the south transept was a chamber 35 feet long (the sacristy?), another 32 feet long (the slype?) and then the vestibule to the chapter house (of which the arch remains). This vestibule was 33 feet long and had two stone seats along the walls. The chapter house itself was decagonal, and measured 51½ feet across.

There was an entrance to the nave of the church on the north side near the west end. The transepts had chapels on the east; one, on the north, was apsidal. Many fine floor-tiles and fragments of stone-carving, some gilt and coloured, were found.

What remains is: first, on the north side, in the passage by which you enter the churchyard, a piece of Norman work attributed to Abbot Reginald, and called the Almonry.

Then, the fine tower of Clement Lichfield towards the east. Late as it is, it is admirable in outline and proportion and—especially perhaps when seen from the train on a summer evening—groups most beautifully with the two churches, and the river in the foreground.

Just south of this is a modern monument to Simon de Montfort, slain in the great battle of Evesham in 1265—the most important event in our history which is associated with the Abbey.

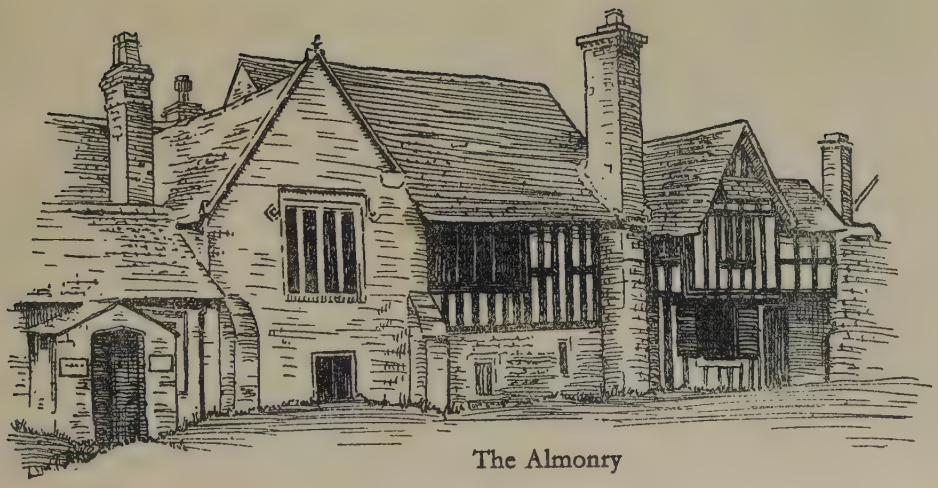
Southward again, passing outside what is now the wall of a private garden, you will find a large archway, and looking inside, you see that the arch is filled with two rows of mutilated statuettes—not a very common feature in England. The outer row here consists of eight seated figures—possibly the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church; the inner of eight standing figures. All are headless, and no attributes remain to identify them. The author of the account in *The Beauties of England and Wales*, writing with all the elegance of 1814, says: "The outer row consists of sitting figures which seem to have been intended for either abbots or bishops, from their being seated on a kind of throne; but as they have all suffered decapitation it is impossible now precisely to ascertain their dignity. Unfortunately, too, the inner range have experienced the same harsh treatment from a former proprietor of this garden. . . . His motive is said to have been the extirpation of the worship of

images ; and fearing that even these might become objects of veneration, he thought the best method of preventing it would be to take off their heads." This arch was the entrance to the chapter house vestibule, the work of Abbot John de Brockhampton. It would be well if the ivy were removed from the southern side of this doorway, which is an unusual and beautiful piece of work.

Standing here, with the normal disposition of the cloister buildings in your mind, you will not find it difficult to divine the general lay-out of the cloister and the frater on the south side of it.

Passing back into the churchyard you should look at Clement Lichfield's work in each of the two churches. Then, going westwards, you will find some attractive houses outside the yard, portions of which may be fragments of the outer domestic buildings of the Abbey. What are called the Abbot's Stables stand south of a house built on the site of the gate-house, and west of this is the so-called "Abbey House."

In spite of Abbot de Marlborough's pains lavished upon the gathering and making of books, and of Prior Nicholas Herford, who in 1392 left nearly a hundred volumes, there are very few in our public collections which can be traced to Evesham. Registers and cartularies there are, and an important chronicle, but nothing to which I can point as a brilliant example of Evesham calligraphy or illumination.



The Almonry

TEWKESBURY [O.S.B.

PROBABLY the most splendid building to be described in this book, has an obscure beginning to its history. It "took its name from a hermit Theocus, who lived on the spot in the middle of the seventh century." That is the first statement we meet with; no one has ever pretended to know anything about Theocus, and no one now seems to believe in his existence. Next we hear that about 715 two noble Saxon brothers, Oddo and Dodo, founded a monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, and gave it some lands. This again is fable; Oddo or Odda really lived in the eleventh century; we shall meet him again at Deerhurst.

But that there was a monastery here at the end of the eighth century is believed, and that Hugh, an Earl of the Mercians, had the body of a King of Wessex buried here, and was himself buried in 812 in the church.

Danish ravages marked the ninth century, and Tewkesbury was impoverished by them. At the time of the great Benedictine reform, about 980, it was so poor that it was made subordinate to Cranborne Abbey in Dorset, and so continued till about 1100.

Then Geraldus, Norman Abbot of Cranborne, induced Robert Fitz-hamon, Lord of Gloucester and much else, a cousin of William II, to re-endow Tewkesbury; and Fitz-hamon ranked as the principal founder.

In 1102 the move was made from Cranborne to Tewkesbury, and the relations of the two houses were reversed. The Abbey was consecrated in 1121. Fitz-hamon had died in 1107.

Robert Fitzroy, natural son of Henry I, who created him first Earl of Gloucester and married him to a daughter of Fitz-hamon, completed the church and most of the tower.

The Lordship of Tewkesbury, with the Earldom of Gloucester, passed in 1221 through the female line to the De Clares. Gilbert I de Clare, Richard, Gilbert II, and Gilbert III were all buried in the Abbey. Through a sister of the last, the Lordship went to the Despensers. Three successive lords were also buried here; a fourth was executed at Bristol; the fifth died in 1414. De Clares and Despensers each held the Lordship for about ninety years. Then it went (again by the female line) to the Beauchamps. Isabelle Despenser married two Richard Beauchamps; the first was buried at Tewkesbury, having died in 1421; the second was the great Earl of Warwick who lies in the Beauchamp Chapel there. After his son's early death his daughter Anne passes the Lordship to her husband Richard Neville. He being killed at Barnet (1471) his confiscated estates were granted to his two daughters. Isabelle married the ill-fated Duke of Clarence; she and he were both buried here. This closes the list of the great patrons of the place who lie in the Abbey. I shall not be so genealogical again, but the succession of Clares, Despensers, Beauchamps, Nevilles, is so remarkable and splendid as to deserve record even

TEWKESBURY ABBEY

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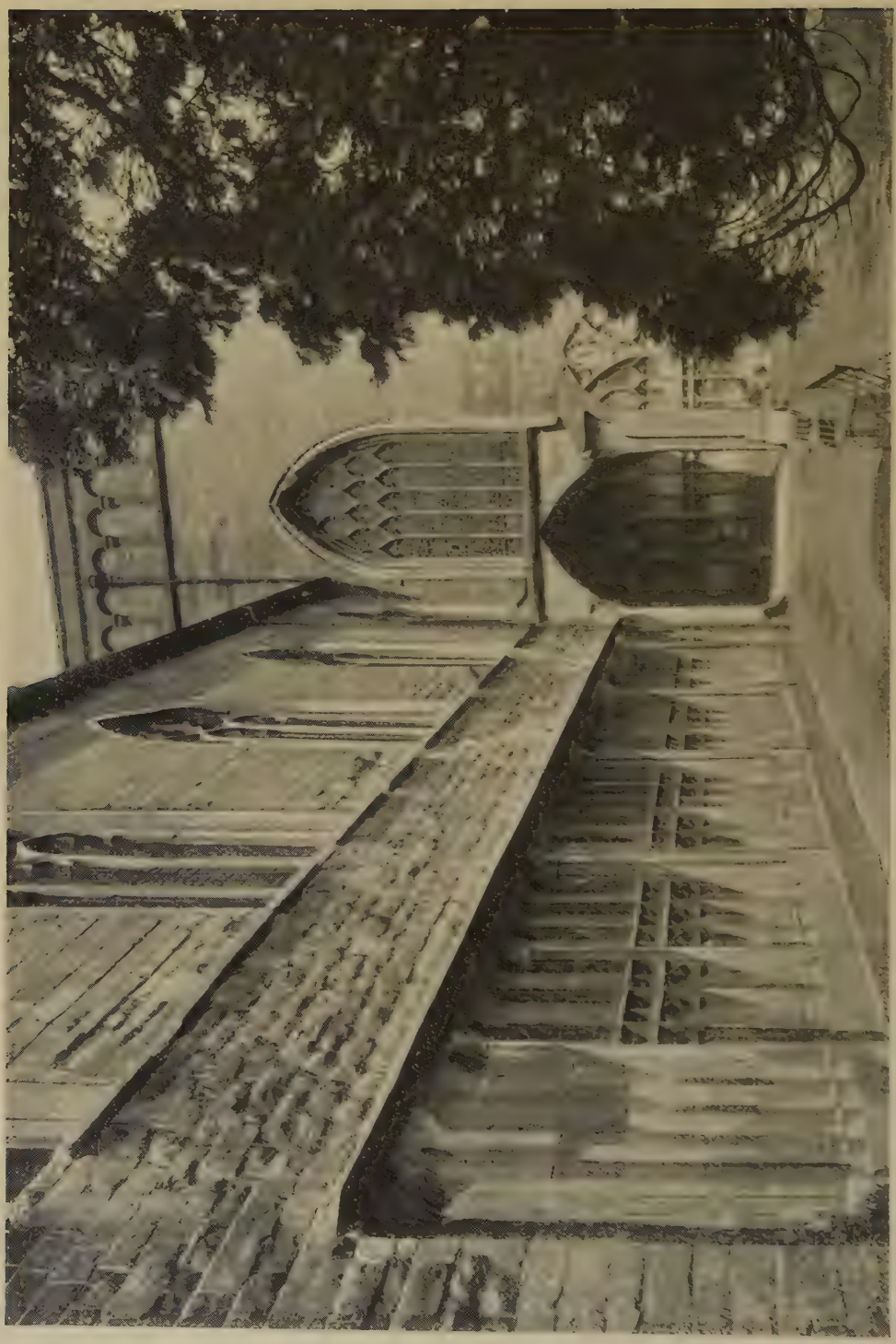
TEWKESBURY ABBEY: CHOIR, LOOKING EAST

TEWKESBURY ABBEY: NAVE, LOOKING EAST



TEWKESBURY ABBEY: CLOISTERS

in this brief account, and it will have been gathered that Tewkesbury hardly yields to any church save Westminster in the number of great personages who rest beneath its roof.

At the Suppression the yearly revenue was £1598. The nave of the church was regarded as the property of the parishioners, who had no other place of worship, and would naturally have been left to them, but they were, we hope, too proud of the great building and its monuments to be satisfied with that, and they actually paid the King £453 to be allowed to keep it all. One could wish to know who were the prime movers in this fine act. They have earned the gratitude of every reasonable being who ever has or ever will set eyes on Tewkesbury tower.

The only parts of the church which have disappeared since the Suppression are the eastern Lady Chapel, the nave of a thirteenth-century chapel which was attached to the north transept, and a detached bell-tower which stood near the same transept and was pulled down in 1817.

The church now consists of aisled nave of eight clear bays, with original north porch; central tower and transepts, that on the south retaining its apsidal chapel, the other altered; choir of two straight bays and another curving in to form an apse; ambulatory surrounded by chapels.

Outside, the great features are: first, the tremendous western arch, 65 feet high. What sort of windows it originally enclosed is not clear; probably tiers of single lights. At some later time a large traceried window was put in. In 1661 this was blown in by a storm, and the present window is dated 1686. Then the much restored Norman turrets flanking the front should be noticed, and the great central tower, probably the noblest Norman tower we have. The height of it, 132 feet, is not great, but its effect is entirely independent of that. It had a wooden steeple which was blown down in 1559.

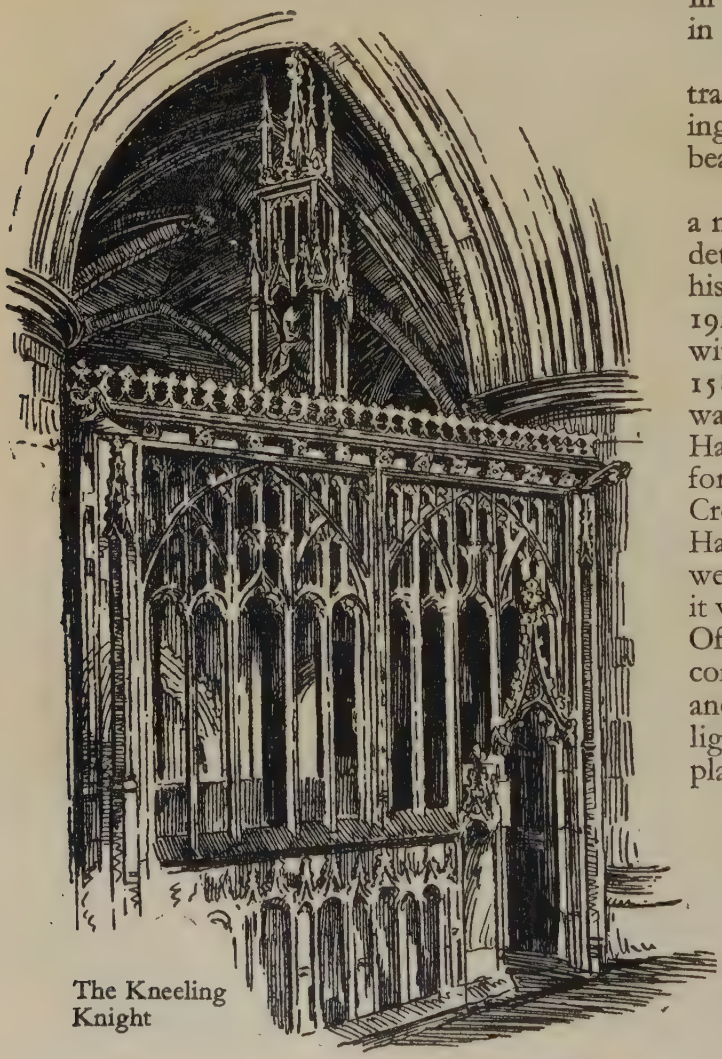
We enter, and find a magnificent Norman nave arcade with noticeably high pillars, which are quite plain cylinders. Then there is a rather insignificant triforium, and a clerestory partly obscured inside by the vaulting which was added early in the fourteenth century. The bosses on the vaulting are mostly carved with figure subjects and are well worth study; there is a series of fifteen which represent scenes in the life of our Lord, and the Last Judgment. These are the central bosses, and the subjects run from west to east. Those at the sides mostly represent angels with very various attributes, and also the Evangelists.

The Wakeman Cenotaph

We will proceed to the choir before noticing the transepts. The Norman choir was lower than the nave. The upper part of it was remodelled in the fourteenth century at the expense of Elizabeth, who had been the wife of a Despenser (Hugh) and had married Sir Guy de Brien. The Norman pillars were raised three feet, and, on the inner side, Decorated capitals were put on them and an elaborate vaulting built. The apse from being round was made polygonal. (The vaulting of the choir aisles, be it noted, is naturally on a lower level and springs from the old capitals.) The imposition of the new roof and the insertion of the large new windows necessitated the doing away with the triforium ; a gallery round the bases of the windows takes its place.

In the choir we will particularly notice the fittings, the tombs, and the glass.

The altar is the original Purbeck slab, of great size, which had been sawn in two and was used for seats in the north porch.



The Kneeling Knight

The mutilated sedilia retain traces of their colour and gilding ; they have been a very beautiful work.

The organ on the south has a most admirable case. "The details," says Mr. Freeman (in his book *English Organ Cases*, 1921), "are not inconsistent with a date as early as about 1580." An older case, then, was probably used by John Harris when he built the organ for Magdalen College in 1637. Cromwell had it taken to Hampton Court ; in 1660 it went back to Oxford ; in 1737 it was bought for Tewkesbury. Often reconstructed, it is in constant use. Its dark wood and embossed gold pipes and delightful shape give it a very high place among English organs.

The large modern organ in the north transept is a fine instrument, but hitherto lacks a case.

TOMBS. The visitor must read for himself the names of the many notables, De Clares and

Despensers, who are buried in the pavement of the choir; but one must be singled out who lies in the centre—Edward, only child of Henry VI, laid here along with many others who fell at the Battle of Tewkesbury, on May 4, 1471.

On the north are three splendid sepulchral chantries. The westernmost is the Warwick Chantry of 1422, commemorating the first of the Richard Beauchamps whom Isabelle Despenser married. She died in 1439, and a mutilated inscription running round the chantry asks for prayers for her soul. She was buried in the choir.

It is a wonderful, delicate composition, in two stages, the roof of the lower stage only extending over the west half of the chantry. The vaulting of both roofs is amazingly fine. No imagery is left, but there is some heraldry, Royal, and of Clares and Despensers; and there are said to have been paintings of the Apostles, St. Christopher, and a cross with adoring angels.

The second is the Founder's Chapel, to Robert Fitz-hamon, made in 1397. Here is a very early specimen of fan-vaulting; and on the east wall are tantalising traces of paintings which I have often and vainly striven to make out. It has been said that they represent scenes in the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The third and easternmost is to Sir Hugh Despenser (*d.* 1349) and Elizabeth (Montacute) who subsequently married Sir Guy de Brien and remodelled the choir. The effigies of both lie on the tomb. The canopy is an astonishing piece of work, tapering to a single tabernacle at the top, but wholly stripped of the score or more of images which once were in it. Traces of its rich colouring are still visible.

The one chantry on the south side is known as the Trinity Chapel. It commemorates Edward Lord Despenser (*d.* 1375). Within it are paintings: the Trinity, the Coronation of the Virgin; older authorities add: portraits of Despenser and his wife, and of our Lord and the Apostles. In its general lines this chapel is very like that of the founder, but it has a very distinctive and uncommon feature, a figure of Lord

North Entrance to Chapel

Despenser on the top, under a tabernacle, kneeling towards the high altar.

GLASS. The seven large windows of the choir are filled with their original fourteenth-century glass; they have just been releaded and admirably rearranged by Messrs. Kempe under the supervision of Mr. Rushforth, who did so much for the Great Malvern glass. Dreadful insertions perpetrated in 1828 have been cleared away, but no new painted work has been put in; the gaps are filled with neutral-tinted glass.

The scheme of subjects is simple. The two western windows on north and south each contain four figures of knights. *North* (from west): Fitz-hamon, Hugh Despenser, Gilbert III de Clare, Robert Fitzroy. *South:* Gilbert I de Clare, William Lord de la Zouch, Richard de Clare, Gilbert II de Clare. The same cartoons have been used twice over, sometimes reversed. There is a similar repetition of design in the other windows.

The next four windows, two on north and two on south, have a series of kings and prophets, some provided with names, others not readily identifiable. The kings are David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah.

The east window has the Last Judgment; below are panels of small figures of the blessed and the lost. In the main lights are two groups of Apostles, including John Baptist, the Virgin, Christ as Judge, and an Archangel. In the tracery is a beautiful little Coronation of the Virgin.

We will now examine the transepts and ambulatory, with the chapels and monuments, beginning on the north. The transept itself is nearly filled up by the Grove organ, given in 1887.

Just east of it is the chapel of St. James (and St. Nicholas), which is a thirteenth-century enlargement of the old apsidal chapel opening out of the transept.

Out of it you pass northward into a thirteenth-century chapel which is the choir of an Early English (Lady ?) Chapel, of which, as I said before, the nave is gone. It has some beautiful detail and arcading. These two chapels were long cut off from the church and used as a grammar school. They were regained in 1875.

Coming back into the ambulatory and choir aisle, we begin upon a series of radiating chapels, polygonal in shape, and somewhat resembling in arrangement those which encircle the east end of Westminster Abbey. They are all of the fourteenth century. The first is that of St. Margaret. Between it and the aisle is the monument of Sir Guy de Brien (1390), second husband of Elizabeth Montacute. It is of the same character as the eastern chantry on this side, but less good.

St. Edmund's Chapel comes next. The bosses of the vaulting show the martyrdom of the patron, who was shot with arrows by the Danes, and beheaded (in 870); his head was guarded by a wolf.

The cenotaph of John Wakeman, last abbot here and first bishop of the new see of Gloucester, partly screens off this chapel from the aisle. It has on it a cadaver—a corpse eaten by toads, serpents, and so on—a repulsive but popular form at the end of the medieval period.

On the other side of the ambulatory is the vault which contains the remains of Isabelle Neville and George, Duke of Clarence. She died 1476; he was murdered 1477.

Eastward is the blocked entrance to the destroyed Lady Chapel, said to have been 100 feet long.

Next, on the south, St. Faith's Chapel, as is thought, and next to it one of unknown dedication in which are to be seen a number of very interesting bits of images and carving which have been found from time to time. Some belong to the chantries, and there are some inscribed bases with names of the great benefactors and nobles which belonged to a series.

In and about the ambulatory are several remnants of good stone screens, and some tombs of abbots.

Next to the anonymous chapel is the vestry, polygonal, like its neighbour.

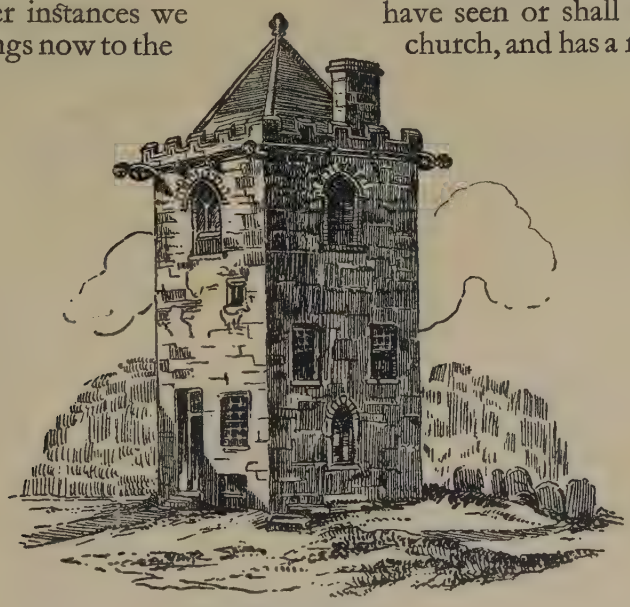
We pass into the south transept, which retains its apsidal chapel; there is a vaulted chamber over this, of the same size; its use is uncertain.

A door at the eastern end of the south nave aisle leads to the relic of the cloisters. They were of rich fifteenth-century work. Immediately adjacent to the transept is the passage called the slype, and next to it was the chapter house, wholly gone. The monks' cemetery was to the east of this.

The greater part of the south side and east end of the church, and, consequently, the site of the cloister buildings, is inaccessible to the public; but only foundations could be discovered by excavation; there is nothing above ground.

The cloister did not abut on the whole length of the nave, but only for five bays; west of it was the outer parlour, and from this was a door into the church.

The only other important remnant of the Abbey is the gate house, which, as in other instances we have seen or shall see, is much restored. It belongs now to the church, and has a room over it.



The Bell Tower

DEERHURST [*O.S.B. Priory*

THIS may be most conveniently visited from Tewkesbury, and is distinguished for possessing two pre-Conquest churches, one of which was monastic. This is now the parish church. The origins of the monastery which owned it are, as usual, obscure, but there is good evidence that it existed in 804, and that it passed through the usual stages of devastation by the Danes, and reform about 980. Edward the Confessor, not long before the Conquest, gave it to the royal Abbey of St. Denis in France, and thenceforward for a long time it ranked as an alien Priory, and suffered the common fortunes of those houses, which were usually confiscated by the Crown when we were at war with France, and given back when peace came. In and after Henry VI's time its fortunes were very chequered. First, it was made " denizen," that is, became an independent English house ; then the King gave it, or part of it, to Eton College (and in the Eton accounts I find mention of various pieces of furniture, utensils, and horses brought from Deerhurst). Then Edward IV took it away, gave it back, and finally put it under Tewkesbury Abbey, where it remained till the Dissolution. There was great litigation about it during this period.

The church has been greatly altered. As a Saxon or pre-Conquest building it had at the west end a square baptistery, which is gone. Then came the tower, of which the lower part, as far as about 35 feet up, remains. This was divided on the ground floor into two chambers ; the western one remains, the walls of the eastern one have been practically cleared away. Next came a rather short nave, which may or may not have had aisles, a central tower (gone), and two square transepts with narrow entrances from the church, and (on the south) an apsidal chapel. Lastly, an apsidal chancel of the breadth of the nave (gone).

In the twelfth century a south aisle was built, and the Saxon walls pierced by three large arches ; the upper part of the walls below the clerestory (fifteenth century) is Saxon. In the thirteenth century the north aisle was added, and the old walls treated in the same way. These operations entailed the removal of the west walls of both transepts. Later windows have been inserted. At an unknown date the chancel with its apse was taken down, and a flat wall built across, with a Perpendicular window in it.

This is a rough and brief account of the changes. Inside the church are interesting features of several periods. In the west wall are a triangular opening and a round-headed blocked doorway, and above these, a most interesting two-light window, all of Saxon date. These, by the help of the internal arrangements of the tower, are interpreted to mean that there were living-rooms in the tower, a gallery leading to the east end of the nave, and perhaps a dormitory over the church in early times. In the west window of the south aisle is some old glass. At the east end of the north aisle are some brasses; the most

DEERHURST CHURCH

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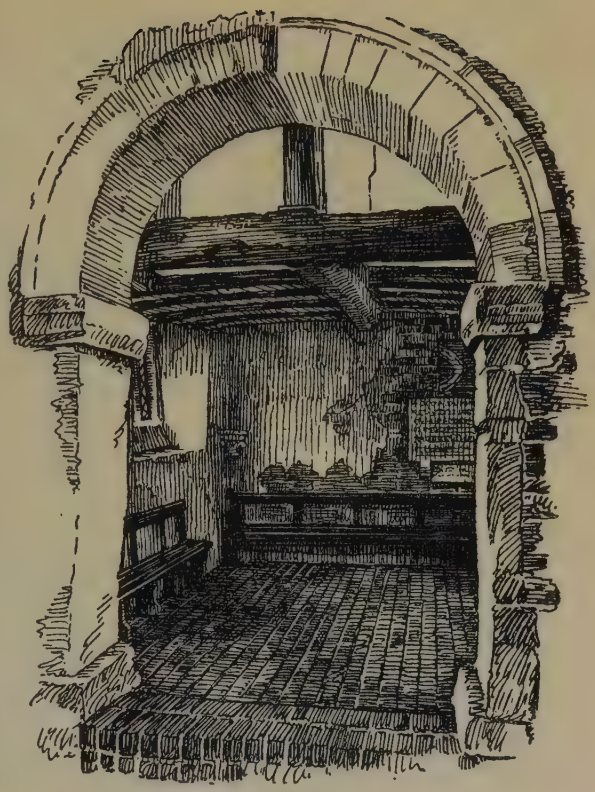
DEERHURST CHURCH

interesting being that of Sir John Cassey and his wife (1400): her dog Tirri is at her feet.

The font—in two pieces, recovered, one from a garden, and the other from a Worcestershire church, Longdon—is a very early one, covered with a beautiful relief pattern of spirals, such as characterise Celtic and early Anglian art. It might be of the ninth or tenth century.

The chancel shows the Puritan arrangement of seats for the communicants. When I first saw the church the table was in the middle of the area; now it has been moved. No other example of this usage is now to be found in England. The foundations of the apse exist in a farmyard east of the church.



Old Saxon Chapel

The monastic buildings were small. The cloister doors (blocked) are to be seen in the south aisle wall. The building which runs southward from the church represents the eastern side of the cloister square; it is of the fifteenth century (early), and contains some interesting rooms and a very pretty reticulated window, but is not accessible to the public.

The other pre-Conquest building, the "Old Saxon Chapel," forms part of a farmstead not many yards south of the churchyard. It was identified—one may say discovered—in 1885. As long ago as 1675 an inscription had been found on the site (it is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford), which said that Duke Oddo built this royal hall and dedicated it to the Trinity in the fourteenth year of Edward (the Confessor) in memory of his brother Alfric (*i.e.* in 1056). This is the Oddo who came to be credited with the founding of Tewkesbury, as has been explained.

The chapel consists of nave and chancel, both rectangular. Total length 39½ feet. The chancel arch is narrow, slightly horse-shoed in shape. There is a pretty thirteenth-century sculptured bracket within. Another early inscription, mutilated, but pretty plainly recording the dedication of an altar, has been found here.

S within two miles of Hailes, but will be dealt with very briefly, for no vestige of the Abbey remains. Had there not been an adequate parish church, some part of the Abbey church would have been preserved. But there was and is a very handsome Perpendicular church which is quite worth a visit. It has on its tower the finest possible weathercock, reported to have come from St. Mary Redcliffe's at Bristol, and inside is a very charming organ-case as old as the seventeenth century at least. Some small fragments of carving from the site of the Abbey are also kept there, and some tiles.

The Abbey was a Benedictine house, large and rich. The foundation was asserted to have been as early as 798, and its founder to have been Kenulph, King of Mercia. In or after 821 it became the resting-place of the boy-saint King Kenelm, murdered by the order of his wicked sister Quendreda at Clent. In the Abbey was preserved the Psalter which she was reading when the solemn procession bearing her brother's corpse passed her window. With evil intent she was saying the savage CIXth psalm backwards, and when she reached the verse, " Let it thus happen from the Lord unto mine enemies," her eyes fell out of her head on to the book, which ever after showed the blood stain.

The monastery was regularised by St. Oswald of Worcester in 985. The annual value at the Suppression was £759. Lord Seymour destroyed all the buildings. They stood, it seems, north and east of the parish church. I do not think any monastic house that could be classed with this has so totally disappeared. When Browne Willis visited it early in the eighteenth century, he met an old man who pointed out the site of the church to him, but could tell him little about it. There were then some outlying domestic buildings, but even these are gone.

DEERHURST: ODDA'S CHAPEL

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POLESWORTH: GATEHOUSE

POLESWORTH CHURCH: SOUTH

PERSHORE CHURCH

R Michelney—on a large island in the marsh, as its name implies—an Abbey dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, whose effigies appear on its seal, ranks among the foundations of King Athelstan in 939. Leland also mentions Alfred, and even Ina, as founders, but we do not know what he went upon, and the later date is the accepted one.

This was one of the churches visited and paced by William of Worcester. He gives the length as 104 paces, and if his pace is taken as 19½ inches (so Mr. Brakspear reckons it in his account of Malmesbury) this gives 169 feet as the result. He speaks of a Lady Chapel and a cloister 90 feet each way.

The church has quite disappeared. It stood on the south of the parish church, only a few feet from it. Some foundations are visible in the churchyard, and tiles found on the site of the Lady Chapel are in the parish church (which is otherwise interesting, and notable for its roof with painted angels).

But the best thing to be seen here is the Abbot's house, a good deal of which remains as a farmhouse, and is usually accessible by the courtesy of the inmates. It is of the fifteenth century. The staircase and doorway into the large room on the first floor are very fine, and the principal room itself is admirable. It has a splendid fireplace with two lions high up, a very beautiful wooden settle with linen-fold panelling, and a nice open-work cresting. There are scanty remains of old stained glass in the windows.

Behind this, on the lower floor, is a portion of the cloister, notably the south-west angle with its vaulting. More rooms, also interesting, with good ceilings, are above this, and somewhat to the east, in the garden of the house, the stone panelled wall of the frater.

North of the parish church is the (restored) cross, and an exceedingly pretty priest's house of the fourteenth century.

Only a mile away is Huish Episcopi, with one of the most pleasing of Somerset towers; and two miles off is Langport, where the "hanging chapel" over the road will catch the eye, and the church has interesting old glass in its east window; this consists of single figures of saints.

There are in the larger lights: *Above*—St. Cecilia, The Annunciation, St. Elizabeth, St. Laurence. *Below*—St. Antony, St. Clement (anchor), St. Peter, St. Gregory, St. Joseph of Arimathea with the cruets (*see under Glastonbury*).

In the tracery lights: *Above*—St. James the Less with club, St. James the Great, St. Bartholomew, St. John with cup. *Below*—A Virgin with palm and book, St. Anthony, A Virgin with palm and rosary, St. Sitha with book and keys, St. Margaret, St. Dorothy, St. Katherine, St. Etheldreda (?), abbess.

One or two Muchelney Abbey service-books are extant, from the kalendars of which we gather something about the succession of the abbots. There is nothing to show that the Abbey possessed much in the way of a library.

POLESWORTH [*O.S.B. Nuns*

NEAR Tamworth, had a long history. A roll, written in old English and more wonderfully spelt than most that I have seen, is printed by Dugdale. The original is not known to exist. "In the wolde tyme," it begins, "the londe of Englonde was departyde abowt in mony kings," and one of them was Egbryght, whose children were Arnulf and Edith. Arnulf was a leper, incurable. But there came "a boschoppe from Hyrelond towards the king's cowrte," who told him of the virtues of St. Modwenna—"a wolly (holy) lady a nune" then living in Ireland, and advised him to send Arnulf to her. He was sent and was healed. Later on, Modwenna's nunnery was laid waste, "bornyd and dystride," so she came to England, and Egbryght entrusted his daughter Edith to her. Under Modwenna Edith took the veil, and her father founded and endowed Polesworth Abbey for her, where she became first Abbess. This is all confused and wrong, say later authorities. Edith lived in the tenth century (in 980) and Modwenna in the seventh. More likely (though not certainly true) is the story that makes Edith the sister of King Athelstan and daughter of Edward the Elder, given in marriage by her brother to Sitric, the heathen Danish king of Northumbria, who was to become a Christian. He did not; he repudiated his bride, and she took the veil. In any case, St. Edith of Polesworth must not be confused with St. Edith of Wilton, her contemporary.

In William I's time Lord Robert Marmion expelled the nuns from Polesworth, and on the occasion of a great gathering of gentry at Tamworth Castle had a vision at night of a "nunne with a croyse (crosier)" in her hand who told him to make restitution or he should perish.

"And the seyde lady him smotte undyr the side with the poynt of hur croyse, so vanished awey, and the seyde Robert cryde with a right feyrefull cry and continually cryde as a woyde (mad) man" until his guests came, and he had made confession to a priest and promised restitution. It was done, and he was healed, and Marmions and Somerviles "have their buryings" at Polesworth. Marmion came to be honoured as founder, and was so regarded in Leland's time; but we are justified in retaining the earlier date of foundation.

Polesworth was marked for suppression along with other small houses in 1536, but even the Commissioners were impressed with the good character of the house, and wrote to Thomas Cromwell, pleading for its continuance. They speak of the Abbess Alice Fitzherbert, aged sixty, as "a very sadde discrete and relygyous woman who hath byn heed and governor these XXVII yeres, and in the same howse ar XII vertuous and relygyous nunnes. . . . As we thinke, ye shall not speke in the preference of a better nonnery nor of better women." The town of Polesworth wholly depends on the nunnery and will be ruined by the suppression, "and the people therin to the nombre of VI or VII score persones are nott unlikely to wander and to seke for their lyvyng." On pay-

PERSHORE CHURCH

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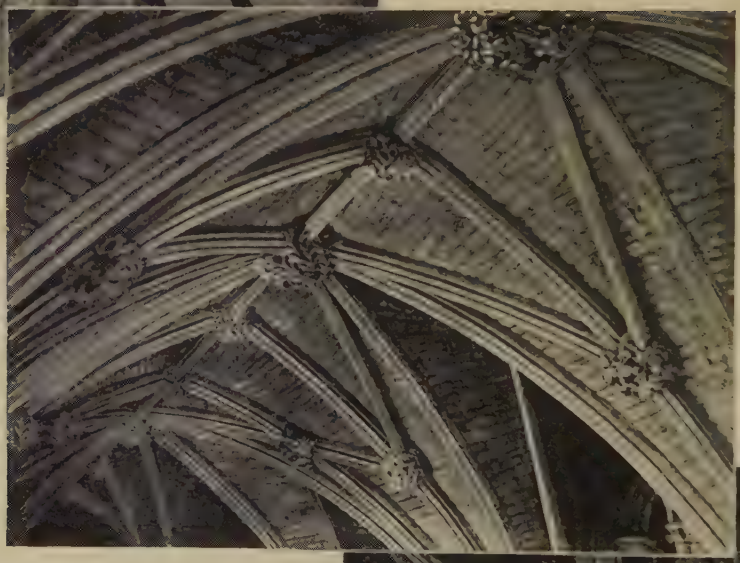


PERSHORE CHURCH:
BOSSES AND VAULTING

ment of fifty pounds the nuns were given letters of protection from being disturbed. But when the final Act for General Suppression was passed, these were null. The annual value of the house was £110, exclusive of fees received for the education of a number of children of gentle birth.

The gate house and the church are the chief remains of Polesworth Abbey. The former is a picturesque building, stone below and timber above, with some twelfth-century work in it. The upper part makes an excellent parish club-room.

The church does not contain many evidences of conventual arrangements; but it possesses the one effigy of an Abbess remaining in England, and this is of the twelfth century. She has her crosier and book, and her feet rest on a stag.

There are other good tombs—one, of Isabel Cockayne (1447), in particular—and the whole building, with its remarkable tower in the *north-east* angle of the nave, well deserves examination.

The Vicarage adjoins the church on the south, and possibly incorporates pieces of the west range of the cloister. But for the most part it must be regarded as post-Dissolution work built by Francis Goodyear, the grantee of the Abbey. The fine room which is described as the frater is certainly not that. The frater will have been parallel to the church, as usual. In the side of the church facing the garden may be seen the Norman door from cloister into church.

THERE are rather confused accounts of the beginnings of Pershore. The earliest date to which it is pushed back is 689, when a certain Oswald, a nephew of Ethelred I of Mercia, founded it. (This Oswald is neither the sainted King of Northumbria (*d.* 642) nor, of course, the Bishop of Worcester.) At the same time his brother Osric founded Gloucester.

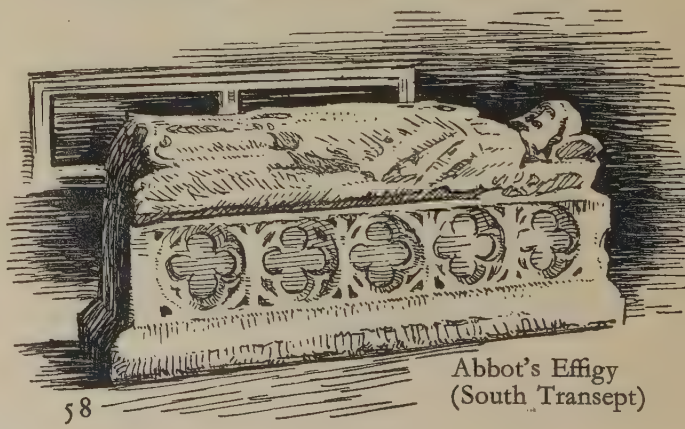
That this is substantially true we need not doubt; but, as in other cases, we must assume that the foundation was not a regular Benedictine house. We hear of secular canons, then of monks, then of seculars again, and nuns. This means that down to the times of the great Benedictine reform (*cir.* 980) there was a laxity of rule.

William of Malmesbury says nothing of Oswald, but records that Egelward, Earl of Dorset, founded Pershore in the days of Edgar. William is a good and sober authority, but he cannot be quite right here. We have a genuine charter of Edgar, of 972 (written in an amazingly complicated style, as is the habit of the time), which confirms many lands to the Abbey; and this speaks of their having been given "in old and recent times by kings and pious persons of both sexes," which means that there was a religious foundation at Pershore of some standing. Moreover, we hear of the monastery being devastated by the Danes in 958.

Shortly after Edgar's time the Benedictine rule was established here by Oswald of Worcester.

The principal saint honoured here was one of several St. Eadburgas. This was a daughter of Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great. When she was a child her father put her to a test by placing before her on one side bracelets and necklaces, on the other a chalice and gospel-book. She chose the latter, and became a nun at Winchester. Some of her relics were bought for Pershore at a great price and were enshrined in the south transept.

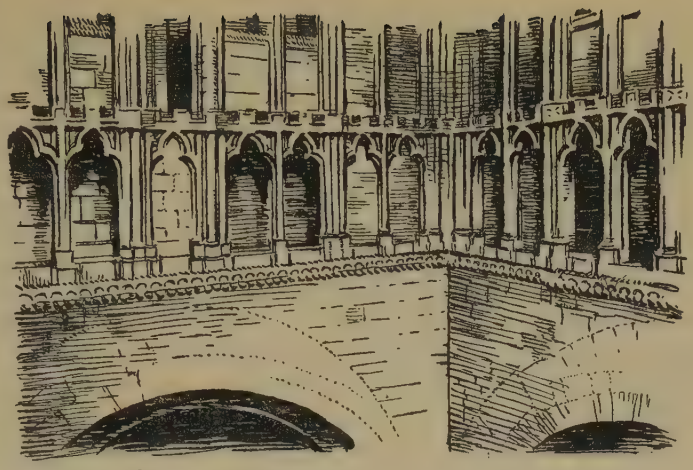
The next great event in Pershore history was the founding of Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor. In order to endow it he alienated from Pershore a very large share of its lands—"more than half its endowments," says William of Malmesbury; and William I continued the process. Hence the great influence of Westminster in the town and district. St. Andrew's Church was built for Westminster tenants in the place. The dean and chapter are patrons of the living of Pershore now.



Abbot's Effigy (South Transept)

Pershore has been called the mother of Westminster, but the honour is hardly one she can have desired.

The Abbey was twice devastated by great fires, in 1223 and 1287. Their effect on the buildings shall be related in due course.



Part of Interior of Lantern Tower of *circa* A.D. 1335

There is a letter in existence from a monk of Pershore to Thomas Cromwell, written just before the Suppression. It is a dreadful composition; the man is trying to curry favour with Cromwell, and says everything he can against his brother monks. Very likely it is not all untrue; some lines shall be quoted. The spelling is terrific.

"Now, most gracyus lord and most worthyst vycytar that ever cam amonckes us, helpe me owt of thys vayne relygyon and macke me your servant, handemayd and beydman and save my sowlle. . . . Now y wyll ynstrux your grace sumwatt of relygyus men. . . . Monckes drynk an(d) bowll after collacyon till ten or XII of the clock, and cum to mattens as dronck as myss (mice) and sume at cardes, sume at dyyss (dice) and at tabulles, sume cum to mattens begenynge at the mydes (midst) and sume when yt ys allmost done, and wold not cum ther so, only for boddly punnysment, nothyng for Godes sayck." The Suppression Commissioners would be very glad to get such a letter as this, and no doubt did their best for Richard Beerley, the writer of it.

The annual value, net, at the surrender was £633. The Sheldons got the site.

In the ordinary way the nave of the church would have been granted to the parishioners and the choir and transepts destroyed. Here, the people of Pershore, with excellent sense, exchanged the nave for the choir; had money been forthcoming they would very likely have bought the whole church, as was done at Tewkesbury. So, then, here the choir and transepts remain and the nave has gone.

The stages of the evolution of the church have been these: Very soon after the Conquest a Norman cruciform church was built. Of it we have remains in the south transept. The lower parts of this are distinctly early Norman work, the upper stages later.

The Norman church had an aisled nave of ten bays, transepts with a chapel in each, central tower, aisled chancel or presbytery, and eastern Lady Chapel, apsidal in form. This general plan subsisted to the end.

The monks' choir was under the crossing. We do not, I believe, know

where the pulpitum and other screens in the nave stood; but as usual there was an altar of the Holy Cross before the rood-screen, to which the townspeople had access, and hence the whole church was sometimes called Holy Cross, though the true dedication seems to be to the Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Eadburga.

About 1200 the east end of the presbytery and the eastern chapels of its aisles were rebuilt, and a new eastern Lady Chapel of three bays added. The eastern aisle chapels remain, and the arch of the Lady Chapel.

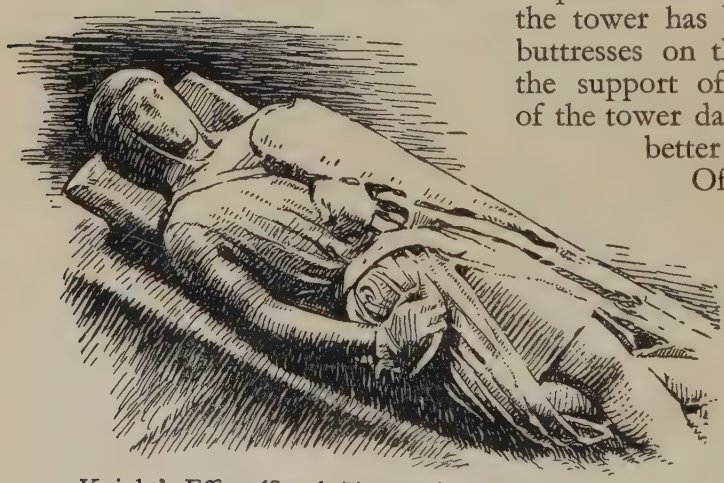
There was a great fire in 1223, as a result of which the main part of the presbytery was rebuilt, to the extent of five bays, with little eastern transepts to the aisles. This is the work we see now, in everything but the main vaulting. It is very beautiful. Note particularly the union of the triforium and clerestory —the two upper stages—into one composition; this is the best example of a rare arrangement. St. David's Cathedral (nave) and Southwell Minster (choir) are other instances.

A second great fire befell in 1287; but not till about 1330 was the damage permanently repaired. It was then that the main vaulting with its lovely bosses was set up, and the lantern of the tower, which intimately resembles the tower (not the spire) of Salisbury Cathedral.

In the same century the chapel of St. Eadburga in the south transept was lengthened eastwards. It was destroyed in the sixteenth century, but the arch of it and other traces are seen on the east wall of the transept, outside. The entrance from the transept to this chapel was closed and another made, from the south aisle. Also the vaulting of the east chapel in the south aisle was raised. The south transept was newly vaulted about 1420.

After the Dissolution the Lady Chapel was pulled down and the arch built up. The north transept fell down in the seventeenth century. In 1846 the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (Samuel Wilberforce was Dean, and recommended the step) built the rather dull little apsidal chapel which now ends the church. In recent times extensive repairs have been made, and in particular, the tower has been shored up with flying buttresses on the west, where it had lost the support of the nave. The pinnacles of the tower date from 1871, and would be better away.

Of ancient fittings and monuments not many are left. There is an interesting stone screen at the east of the south transept, in the nature of a reredos, in the blocked arch. There, too, is a good thirteenth-century effigy of a knight holding a



Knight's Effigy (South Transept)

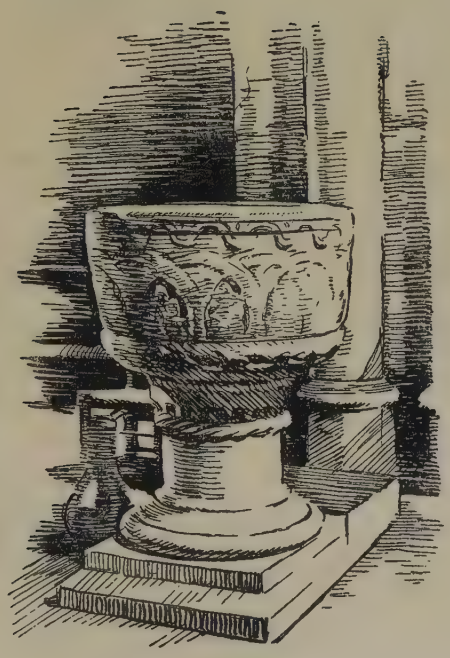
horn; his feet rest on a hare; and another of a fourteenth-century Abbot; also a chest for vestments.

The font, regained in recent years from private hands, is a fine one of Norman date.

The monastic buildings were on the south, in grounds now private. The only relic of them is the thirteenth-century (eastern) door from nave into cloister. The want of similarity between the capitals on the two sides of the arch is remarkable.

Taking it all round, Pershore occupies a very high place indeed among our churches.

Books from the Abbey library are rather rare. Those I have seen (in the British Museum and at Lambeth, principally) usually have "Parshar" written on their fly-leaves, and no other marks of ownership.



Norman Font

ST. PETROC is the great saint here. His date is the sixth century, and he is conjectured to have lived from about 504 to 594. A native of Wales, he went to Ireland and studied there for twenty years, and then returned to Cornwall, landing at Padstow, where he spent thirty years. He then went on pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem, whence he penetrated as far as the great ocean river. On its shores he fell asleep, and waking, saw a great silver bowl swimming towards him. He got into it, leaving on the shore his staff and sheepskin mantle, and it conveyed him to an island, where for seven years he led a hermit's life. The bowl came for him at the end of the seven years and took him back to the ocean shore. He found that a wolf had been guarding his staff and sheepskin all the while, and when he set out to go back to Cornwall the wolf came with him. So a wolf is his attribute in art. Returned to Cornwall, he settled at Bodmin by a holy well, and here he converted the King, Constantine, who first met him when hunting a fawn, which took refuge under Petroc's mantle.

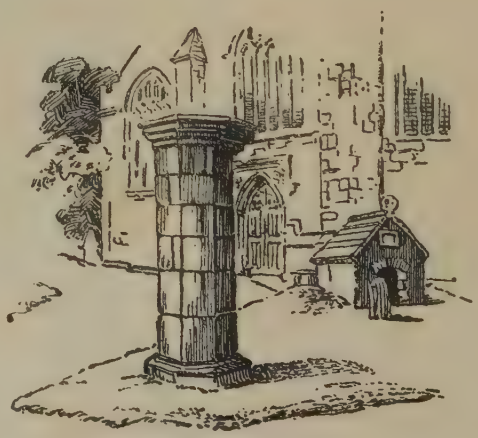
At Bodmin he died on June 4, and was buried.

King Athelstan is said to have founded an Abbey here, destroyed by the Danes in 981. A religious establishment went on somehow. Leland says, "There hath bene monkes, then nunnys, then seculare prestes, then monkes agayne, and last canons regular in St. Petroke's church yn Bodmine."

The regular canons (Augustinians) were established by William Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, about 1120.

In 1177 one of the canons stole St. Petroc's relics and carried them across to the Abbey of St. Méen in Brittany. Henry II was appealed to. Roland de Dinan, justiciary of Brittany, was sent with an armed force to compel restitution. On June 19th the relics, *enclosed in an ivory casket*, were handed over to Prior Roger of Bodmin, who brought them back with great joy. The Abbot and monks of St. Méen took an oath that they had not kept back any part of the treasure, but down to the French Revolution the skull was shown there.

The income of the house at the Suppression is given as £289. The grantee of the site was Thomas Sternhold, who, with Hopkins, made the old metrical version of the Psalms—that version which eventually gave way to Tate and Brady.



Holy Well of St. Petroc and an Isolated Column of the Priory Buildings

BODMIN

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BODMIN CHURCH AND ST. THOMAS'S CHAPEL

The choir of the present church was that of the canons; the nave belonged to the town. Tower and choir are the oldest parts of the building, but a restoration of 1469–72 is responsible for most of what now meets the eye.

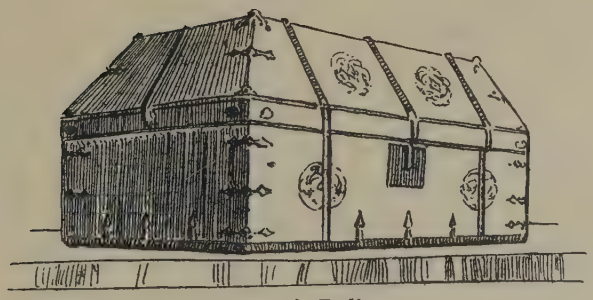
The most interesting old things in the church are the early font and the tomb of Prior Vivian (*d.* 1533). He was titular Bishop of Megara, and his effigy is fully vested. He had trouble with his canons, who (as might be expected in a remote district and a lax time) would not obey the injunctions issued by the bishop on his visitation and preferred to obtain "capacities" or licences, and leave the place. One of them had procured his capacity irregularly, and the Prior says: "I have restraynyd his departyng, for no gret los that I showld have of hym, but for the yl exemple to other, for yf I showld suffer this man to depart yn thys manner I shall have never Chanon to byde with me."

Beside the churchyard gate is a holy well, which is in all likelihood that of St. Petroc.

The very ivory casket in which his bones were brought back from Brittany has been allowed to exist through Dissolution and Civil War. It is in the keeping of the municipal authorities.

Another relic of St. Petroc is a Gospel-book of the ninth century now in the British Museum, specially valuable for the many manumissions of serfs which (as was the early custom) were registered in it before the Conquest.

Of the Priory buildings, which stood "at the Est Southe Est parte of the paroch chirche yard" (Leland) there are but scanty fragments; nothing to elucidate the plan, so far as I am aware. Capitals and columns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have been dug up, and a good many are preserved in the garden of the Priory House. There is also a ruined chapel east of the church, with a crypt beneath it, of the fourteenth century, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.



St. Petroc's Reliquary

ST. GERMANS [*Augustinian*

THIS was the seat of a bishop in early times. The bishops of the Celtic churches were not like those of the English; their sphere of influence was not defined in the same way. In Ireland a bishop often lived in a monastic settlement and was inferior in rank to the Abbot. In Cornwall the Bishop of St. Germans was probably the head of a monastery. Whether his jurisdiction extended over the whole of modern Cornwall, or whether there were not other bishops—at Bodmin, for instance—in the quite early days, is not clear. The first bishop who is named is one Conan, in Athelstan's time (in 936), but he will not have been actually the first. The last was Burhwold.

In 1050 the old See of St. Germans was united with Exeter by Edward the Confessor, and Bishop Leofric, who had formerly had Crediton for his See, moved thither. He is said to have placed canons in St. Germans. But it was Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter in Henry II's time, who made it a Priory of Augustinian Canons. So it continued till the Suppression, when its annual value was somewhat under £250.

The church has a certain cathedral flavour about it, in that it has two western towers; one is Norman, with an octagonal top of the thirteenth century. The other, the southern, has Norman base and Perpendicular upper storey. Between them is a fine late Norman door. The nave has two Norman piers on the south side, and a Norman font is in the south tower.

The original north aisle was pulled down in 1803 and replaced by the pew of the Eliots—the house of Port Eliot is immediately beside the church.

The description in the *Beauties of England and Wales* (Britton and Brayley; this volume was issued in 1801) is rather unwontedly minute and careful. I will quote a good part of it, and the visitor may be interested in comparing it with what he sees now.

After describing the western arch it says: "Over the arch is a pediment with a cross at the top resembling an heraldic cross *patée* within a circle; on each side is a small pointed window, and above these are three small narrow round-headed windows. [Above these is the main western gable.]

"The north aisle is divided from the nave by five short thick round columns, each connected with a half-pillar opposite to it in the north wall, by a low surbased arch. All the capitals of the columns are square, and curiously ornamented with Saxon (*i.e.* Norman) sculpture. The third from the west end is embellished with grotesque figures having bodies resembling dogs, opposed to each other, with their fore parts meeting at the angle of the capital in one head; the upper part human, but the lower like a scollop-shell. Above these range six plain arches, some of them apparently of the same age and style with those in the nave of St. Alban's Abbey Church, Hertfordshire.

"In several windows of the aisle are a few coats of arms on painted glass.

"The architecture of the south aisle is very dissimilar from that on the

ST. GERMANS: CHURCH DOOR

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ST. GERMANS CHURCH

north. [The south aisle is, in fact, of two periods: the eastern part, of the fourteenth century, was built first as a separate chapel. The western is of the Perpendicular period.] Here we discover the ornamented niches and the pointed arch windows. The six arches which divide it from the nave are pointed; the two western arches are quite plain and very sharp; the pillars that support them are round, massive and clumsy (Norman). The four eastern are higher and less pointed, having round capitals ornamented with mouldings; the pillars sustaining them are more slender (Perpendicular). The windows in this aisle are large and handsome; they are divided into compartments by stone mullions, but all are dissimilar in their tracery.

"In the south wall near the middle of the aisle is a niche ornamented with sculpture, supposed to have belonged to some ancient monument of an abbot, but no particulars relative to it are now extant. [It is apparently for an image of a saint, and has been called the 'Bishop's Throne.' The present carving is largely of 1850.] The table of the recess in the wall is covered with a stone 7 feet 6 inches long which appears to have had some figure let into it, but the form of the outline cannot be distinguished. The length of the church within the walls is 104 feet 6 inches; its breadth 67 feet 6 inches."

The chancel fell in 1592.

"In that part now employed as the chancel is a rude ancient seat generally called the 'Bishop's Chair' [probably this is correct, and the statement above about the niche, from a more modern source, is a mistake]. Its height is about three feet. Beneath the seat is carved the figure of a hunter with game on his shoulder and accompanied by dogs. [This is probably of the fourteenth century, and may represent St. Hubert.] The chair is now placed on part of a tesselated (tile) pavement found about 50 yards [read feet] from the present east window. . . . Nearly ten feet east of it was the foundation of a wall which from its thickness and materials seems to have been the original extent of the building." The present east window is a very fine Perpendicular one, most likely transferred from the original east end.

The last restoration of the church was carried out in 1888–94.

The following note of Leland must refer to the destroyed choir: "Besyde the hie altare on the ryght hand ys a tumbe with the image of a bishop, and over the tumbe a XI bishops painted with their names, and verses, as token of so many bishops buried ther, or that ther had bene so many bishops of Cornwall that had theyr seete ther."

The priory buildings were on the north side, and what remains of them is incorporated in the house of Port Eliot, of which the dining-room is said to occupy the site of the frater. The frater seems to have been standing in Browne Willis's days, early in the eighteenth century, and also another hall with an oriel and dais was remembered and described to him, perhaps the Prior's hall; it seems to have had the arms of the last Prior in the window. Some ancient paintings on panel (*cir.* 1500) are or were in the house "known to have belonged to the Priory." They represented the Life of Christ.

RDGAR, Earl of Devon, is the reputed founder of this Abbey about 961, and is so described by William of Malmesbury. But an extract from an old chartulary is printed in the *Monasticon* which has a much longer tale to tell of his son Ordulph. Going out of doors one night to pray, as was his custom, he saw a brilliant column of light in the sky. It moved him to great fear. When he returned to bed and slept he saw a vision of an angel in white who bade him search out the place where the pillar of light had stood—he would find it marked out in a square by four rods—and there build a chapel to the four Evangelists. He told his wife of the vision; but (as so often) it had to be repeated a second and a third time before he took action. But when he did, he founded not only a chapel but a large monastery. In 981 its liberties were confirmed by Ethelred, and the names of Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold are put to the charter. In 997 it was burnt by the Danes.

Ordulph was a man of enormous strength and stature. His great bones are still shown in the parish church of Tavistock, and William of Malmesbury has a story of his breaking down a heavily barred gate with part of the adjacent wall, apparently without effort.

William also tells us that the saint honoured at Tavistock and resting there in a beautiful shrine was a Bishop Rumon, of whom no written life existed. But Leland saw a life of him at Tavistock which said that he was an Irishman and that Ordgar brought his bones to Tavistock; and Messrs. Baring-Gould and Fisher (*Lives of the British Saints*) have no doubt that he is to be identified with St. Ronan of Locronan in Brittany.

The annual value at the Suppression was £902; the site was granted to the Russells, and the Duke of Bedford still owns it.

Of the church, William of Worcester tells us that it measured 126 of his steps and the eastern Lady Chapel 36 more. Reckoning the step at 19 inches, this works out at 256½ feet. There were aisles, but nothing is said of transepts.

It stood in the present churchyard and just south of the parish church, and is (very doubtfully) said to have been pulled down about 1670. This can only mean that the ruins were cleared away then.

Of the Abbey buildings Browne Willis (early eighteenth century) tells us something. After saying that the church is gone, he continues, " The Kitchen which was left standing of late Years tho' now razed to the Foundation was a large square Room, open to the Roof, which was composed of elegant workmanship. The Chapter-House is likewise ruined. It was a Pile of great beauty, built as round as can possibly be worked with a compass; and yet the dimensions thereof were large, there being thirty-six seats in the inside wrought out in the walls, all arch'd over Head with curious carved Stones. The Refectory with several of the Offices is still standing, being of great Length, Breadth and Height. The Saxon School . . . is a large Building, as is the Area where

the Cloyſters ſtood, which were 45 Paces or Yards in Length, the Eaſt side of which opened into the Chapter-House. . . . In two Arches on the North Side of the Cloyſters are one or two broken Monuments, one of which Tradition says belong'd to the Founder."

The Chapter House and a building by it called the Saxon School (see below) were demolished in 1736 and a house for the Duke of Bedford's ſteward built on the site.

The remains are the north-eaſt angle of the cloiſter in the churchyard (sometimes said to be a part of the north wall of the church, and called Ordulph's tomb); two gate houses, weſt and eaſt, the weſtern one called Betty Grimbal's tower; a fine pinnacled porch, and the frater in a much reſtored condition, used as a Unitarian chapel. Farther south, running along the river, is a bit of the precinct walls and a tower called the Still-tower. At the northern extremity of the precinct, behind a row of houses on the eaſt side of Market Street, is a building in private hands which was inside the precinct and is reputed to have been one of the monaſtic buildings.

One myth and one more fact about Taviſtock Abbey have to be told. Archbishop Parker (apparently) about 1574 originated the myth that there was before the Reformation a school of Anglo-Saxon in the Abbey (he calls it a nunnery, *coenobium monialium*). The ſtatement was seized upon by writer after writer and came to be a commonplace of hiſtorians. There is no foundation for it at all. I have wondered whether this circumſtance suggeſted it to Parker: that a manuscript of Anglo-Saxon homilies which he gave to the University Library at Cambridge (Ii. 4. 6, is the press-mark) was found in Taviſtock Abbey in 1566 by R. Ferrar, a servant of the Bedford family.

The fact which remains to be told is that there was a printing press in the Abbey before the Dissolution. The beſt-known production of it was Walton's English version of Boethius' "Consolation of Philosophy," printed in 1525 by Dan Thomas Rychard, a monk of the house. This again may have a slight bearing on Parker's fancy.

ROMSEY [*O.S.B. Nuns*

THIS is the greatest nuns' church which is left in the country. The foundation goes back to Saxon times, but, as usual, some clouds have gathered over the origins.

William of Malmesbury says that it was founded by King Edgar; the year is given by others as 967. Hoveden makes Edward the Elder founder in 907. By him St. Merwinna was made Abbess. The moment we mention a saint of the name of Merwinna, Morwenna, Modwenna, or Moninna, we are plunged into a confusion which I shall not try to unravel further than by saying that Modwenna is the saint of Burton-on-Trent and Morwenna of Morwenstow in Cornwall, and Merwinna is not either of these.

All we can say of her is that hers is the earliest name connected with Romsey, and that she received some honour there as a saint, though her name paled before that of Ethelfleda or Elfleda. Elfleda was the daughter of a noble, Ethelwold (sometimes described as founder of Romsey), and was confided to Merwinna's care by Edgar, who found her after her father's death neglected by her mother, who had married again. She became Abbess of Romsey, succeeding Elwina, of whom it is told that when praying at the altar she received a heavenly warning of the approach of the Danes under Sweyn, and fled with her nuns and their property to Winchester. But Sweyn's date is early in the eleventh century.

Of Elfleda there are not many stories; her finger shone bright when the lantern she was carrying went out; even when she stayed at the palace with the King and Queen she went out every night and stood nude in a fountain in the garden, as she was wont to do at home. The Queen, spying upon her, was struck senseless, and healed at her prayer. Some royal rents were entrusted to her which she gave to the poor; when repayment was demanded, she prayed, and the empty money-bags were found full.

For the rest, the annals of Romsey are bare of incident, except, perhaps, for the story of Mary, daughter of King Stephen, who was taken from the Abbey and married to Matthew of Flanders, became Countess of Boulogne, and finally was compelled to return to Romsey, where she became Abbess. At the Suppression the annual value was either £393 or £528. The church was granted to the town by Henry VIII for £100, and so is preserved well-nigh intact. The parishioners used to have an added chapel on the north, and part of the north transept, for their church, with the north aisle of the nave. This chapel, of St. George, is gone, and so is the eastern Lady Chapel. Traces of both may be seen outside.

The church consists of an aisled nave of seven bays, transepts with an apsidal chapel in each, central tower, aisled choir of three bays with ambulatory.

The three western bays of the nave are pointed-arched, the rest Norman, and very fine Norman. The triforium range, and the arches of the crossing

are particularly beautiful. The two east windows, an unusual feature, are a fourteenth-century insertion.

There is no west door. The town entrance must have been on the north; the porch is modern (1900).

There are some fittings and details, both inside and outside the church, which are of exceptional interest.

Inside, the wooden screen now in the chancel arch must be noticed. The upper part of it is old, and has on it a row of some twenty heads, of late fourteenth-century work.

In the north choir aisles are two ancient paintings on board. One is of the fifteenth century, and shows a cleric in a black cope with white tippet adoring a figure of Christ (on the Cross ?) which is gone.

The other is of the early sixteenth century and of crude execution. It has on it two rows of figures. Below are an abbess, probably the donor, with scroll SURREXIT DOMINUS DE SEPULCRO and the Resurrection of Christ, with the soldiers at the tomb and two censing angels. Above (from left): St. Jerome as Cardinal, St. Francis with the *stigmata*, a female suppliant by him, St. Sebastian, a bishop (perhaps St. Swithin), an abbess (Elfleda or Merwinna), St. Benedict, St. Roch (like St. Sebastian, a saint invoked against plague), St. Armagilus or Armel in chasuble, with his legs in armour, and a little red dragon by him with a stole round its neck; and another bishop. St. Armel, though born in Great Britain, is chiefly remembered in Brittany, where a principal church of his is at Ploermel. Henry VII was once saved from shipwreck by invoking St. Armel, and he became popular in England for a time. There is a good image of him in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and another on Cardinal Morton's tomb at Canterbury.

Nuns' Door

Hard by is a fine piece of an embroidered vestment (fifteenth century) framed and glazed.

At the east end in the splay of a window are four medallions of the thirteenth century, painted on the wall. They have never been

interpreted, but they plainly narrate the acts of some nun-saint, possibly Elfleda.

Over the altar in the south-east chapel is a very interesting sculptured panel of the Crucifixion, with gilt ground. Above the arms of the Cross are angels; on the spectator's left is the Virgin, and Longinus piercing the Side; on the right St. John and the man with the reed and sponge (traditionally called Stephaton). A tree is by the foot of the Cross, and there is conventional foliage. This is of Saxon, not Norman, work.

In the south transept is a very beautiful Purbeck effigy of a lady of about 1270.

Some of the capitals of the Norman pillars have interesting figure subjects. One looks like a battle-scene; one has the signature of the sculptor, Robert; *Robertus me fecit.*

Outside on the west wall of the south transept, adjoining the eastern procession door into the cloister, is a famous crucifix, of nearly life size, in relief on the wall. The Divine Hand in a cloud is above. This very fine work is of Saxon date. It is thought (by Messrs. Prior and Gardner) that it may have been moved from its original place on the west front, or gable, of an older church; for it is certainly earlier than the wall into which it is built.

The corbel table which runs round the Norman part of the church is remarkable for a variety of grotesque heads.

The buildings of the Abbey were on the south. The two doors into the cloister remain, and we can see on the south wall where the cloister roof abutted.

Excavation has shown that the chapter house was polygonal in plan. The cloisters were in two storeys. But nothing is visible above ground.

In the vestry is preserved (with other notable things) a nice fifteenth-century manuscript Psalter acquired for the church not long ago. The Kalendar has the death-days of some abbesses and nuns of Romsey, and the feast of St. Elfleda, on October 27, is marked in red; so doubtless it belonged to a member of the community.

TAVISTOCK ABBEY AND GUILDHALL

Facing page 70

ROMSEY ABBEY

ROMSEY ABBEY

ROMSEY ABBEY: CRUCIFIX

ABBOTSBURY

[O.S.B.

LIKE Westminster, boasted that St. Peter himself had consecrated its church and called it by its name of Abbotsbury. He had frequently appeared to one Bertulf, a priest, "in the very infancy of Christianity among the Britons," and had given him a charter written with his own hand. Bertulf is not a very convincing name for a British priest, and Abbotsbury seems plain English. The register in which the story was told was destroyed in the Civil Wars, and we have only a second-hand account of what it said.

Orc, a steward of Canute, and afterwards of Edward the Confessor, with his wife Tola, founded a religious establishment here. The accounts seem to me to indicate that in 1026 he put in secular canons and in 1044 substituted Benedictine monks, from Cerne. Orc is the real founder, then, whatever may be the probability of some earlier ill-defined community having existed on this site.

At the Suppression it was quite a rich place; the annual value is given variously as £485 and £390.

The family of Strangeways made a mansion out of the Abbey buildings, which was blown up in the Civil Wars; whereby we lost not only a considerable part of the structure, but many records.

The church is quite gone. The first Strangeways preserved the Lady Chapel at the east end for a family burial place, but it disappeared in the explosion. The eighteenth-century writers speak of a large pile of ruins which they supposed to be the tower, and of a porch. I doubt if either is now traceable. They also mention "a large stable supposed to have been the Dormitory." There is a good gateway, and there are fragments of medieval buildings in the farm-house on the site. But what makes Abbotsbury well worth a visit is the magnificent barn, like a great church, 276 feet long. Part of it is not very well preserved, but it is a very splendid monument, the largest, I think, of its kind to be seen in the country. Another most unusual building is St.

Gate and Church

Catherine's Chapel, on the hill by the sea. It is a fifteenth-century structure entirely of stone, roof and all (vaulting and outer roof have no space between them), and indeed, in its exposed situation, it needed to be as solidly built as possible. It is comparable to the chapel of St. Aldhelm on the headland farther east, near Swanage.

The parish church of Abbotsbury should also be looked at. It has a sculpture of the Trinity over the west door. It is sad to read that " on a wall at the upper (eastern) end of the south aisle was an ancient painting of our Saviour rising out of the tomb ; on each side of Him the words, *Ecce Homo* ; under the tomb, an altar, with a book, chalice, paten, two cruets, etc. Two monks in their habits kneeled before the altar ; a stream of blood issuing out of Christ's side, received by a monk in a chalice. This curious picture, together with an ancient wooden screen, was defaced and taken down when the altar was put up and the church *beautified* "—some time in the eighteenth century, when an east window with painted glass was also destroyed.

This picture, I may remark, evidently did not represent the Resurrection, but the subject called the Mass of St. Gregory, where the Pope at Mass sees a vision of our Lord as the Man of Sorrows, standing in the tomb and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion.

ABBOTSBURY

Facing page 72

GREAT MALVERN: PRIORY CHURCH

ST. NICHOLAS, EXETER

[*O.S.B. Priory*

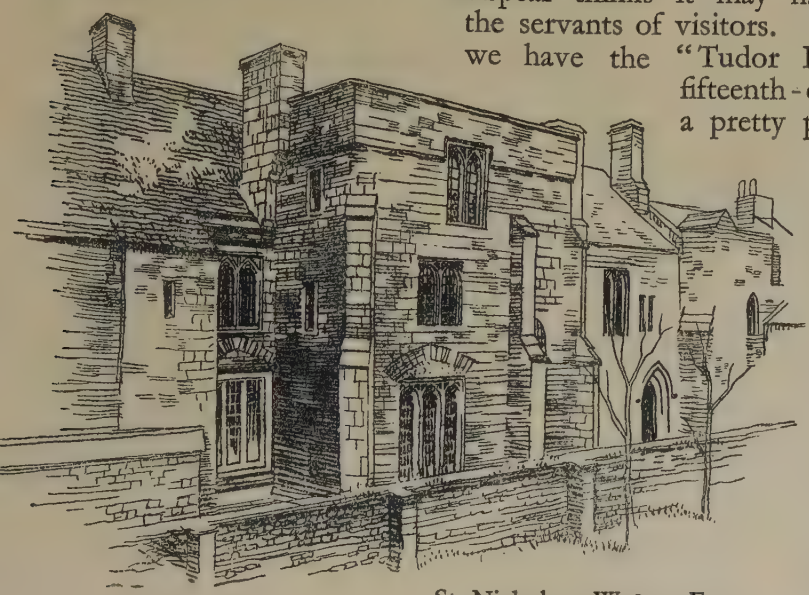
THIS house, the only important monastic foundation in Exeter, took its rise in the reign of William I. He gave to his Abbey of Battle the church of St. Olave in Exeter, which owed its being to Gytha, widow of Earl Godwin and mother of Harold. The monks of Battle established here a Priory of St. Nicholas, dependent on the Abbey, and that status it retained till the Dissolution, being technically called a cell to Battle Abbey. At the Dissolution its income was £147 clear.

As was not unnatural in the case of a monastery situated in the midst of a city, the monks of St. Nicholas had their quarrels with their neighbours of the cathedral, and with the municipality. The former were composed by Archbishop Anselm; the latter finally patched up in 1527, when not many years of life remained to the Priory. The story is told at some length in the compact and excellent guide procurable on the spot.

There, too, is a lucid account of the important remains of the buildings, by Mr. Brakspear, upon which I shall draw.

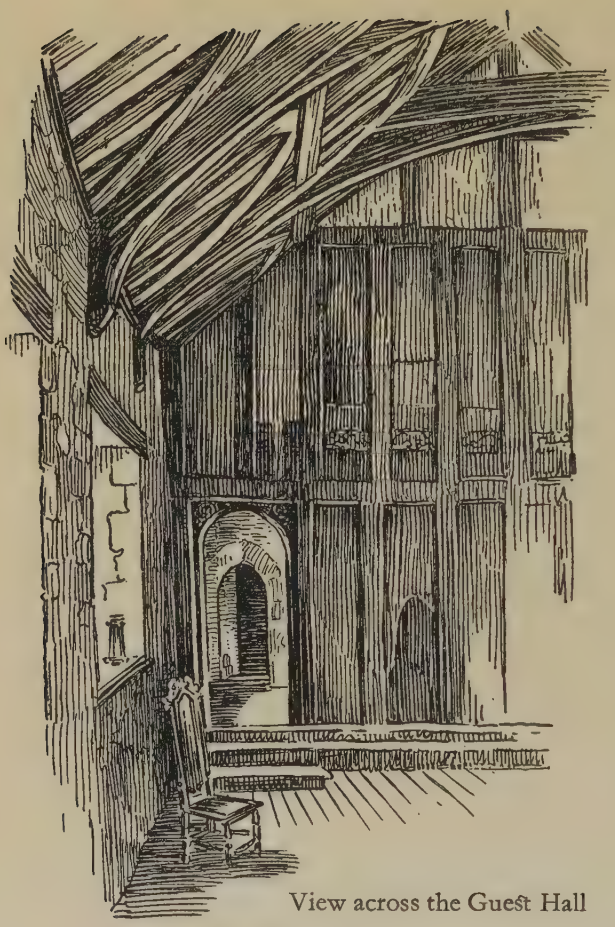
Nothing is left of the church. The cloister buildings were on the north of it, and of these we have the west range and part of the north. Chapter house, sacristy, dorter, and whatever else occupied the east side, are gone.

The west range contains the passage into the cloister, used as a parlour, probably, for meetings with lay visitors. Next to this on the north is a fine vaulted chamber of Norman date known as the Crypt. The purpose of it is not certain. Mr. Brakspear thinks it may have been used by the servants of visitors. Then, going north, we have the "Tudor Room," mainly of fifteenth-century date, with a pretty plaster ceiling bearing the initials of William Hurst, one of those who bought the buildings in 1549; he was a prominent citizen, who sat in Parliament for Exeter and was mayor five times.



St. Nicholas: Western Front

The north end of this range is occupied by the kitchen, whose walls are of the



View across the Guest Hall

thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

A handsome tower was added in the fifteenth century on the west side of the range.

The first floor of the main building contains the guest hall, prior's rooms, and guest room. In the last-named some interesting pieces of sixteenth-century decorative wall painting are to be seen in the splays of the windows. The guest hall has its fine plain original timber roof. Above, on the second floor, are lodgings, perhaps for the guest master and the servants.

This part of the building has been the property of the Corporation since 1913, and has been very carefully restored under the direction of Mr. Brakspear and Mr. Tonar. The north range is still in private hands. In it are the remains of the frater and its undercroft, or cellar. It has a pretty oriel, and a fine timber roof. Much of the lower part, at any rate, of the walls is of Norman date. Of the cloister itself nothing is left, but pieces of Purbeck marble shafts and capitals have been found which, as Mr. Brakspear has shown, must have formed part of a very pretty circular lavatory projecting into the cloister. One other example of such a building will be encountered in this book, namely, that at Much Wenlock. The one formerly at Durham is elaborately described in the book known as the *Rites of Durham*, which was written after the Dissolution by an old monk who remembered former glories.

At Canterbury and Lewes, says Mr. Brakspear, are the only other English instances of such lavatories. There is a very good one at Mellifont in Ireland.

Another interesting object is the shaft of an Anglo-Saxon cross, carved with characteristic patterns, which must be older than the Priory. At the Dissolution it was carted off and used in the repair of a bridge.

HURLEY [*O.S.B. Priory*

THIS was a Benedictine Priory, a cell to Westminster Abbey, founded in William I's time by Geoffrey de Mandeville, at the instigation of his second wife Lecelina.

At the Suppression its clear annual value was just £100. It passed from Chamberlains to Lovelaces. The first Richard Lovelace made money in Sir Francis Drake's expedition and with it built the manor house of Lady Place on the site of the Priory buildings. We may read in Macaulay how the organisers of the Revolution of 1688 met and laid their plans in the still existing underground chambers of the destroyed house. John Lord Lovelace, Baron Hurley, was then the owner.

The church of the Priory, a single long, narrow aisle, survives as the parish church. A great deal of Norman work is still traceable in it. The south door is much restored, the west door extremely fine. Later windows have been inserted, but several of the Norman period remain. A restoration in 1852 swept away some interesting features inside the church, including a wooden screen at the chancel steps, and the rood beam. At this time also the sham Norman screen was built near the end, to provide a vestry behind it. It replaced a plain wall; whether that represented an original feature is not clear.

In the north wall a blocked Norman door, into the cloister, and the door of the night-stairs from the dorter, also blocked, are visible.

Some monuments are worth noticing: the matrix of a brass—a Greek cross fleury, another brass to John Doyby, and a tablet by Flaxman.

The cloister court is on the north. Visitors are admitted to it after 2 P.M. Naturally, it was not a very large structure. The eastern range has been replaced by what are called the "Bachelors' Buildings," and the western—perhaps the Prior's lodging—is now known as Paradise. But on the north the frater remains (70 feet by 20 feet), with its Norman door. The lower stage is Norman, the upper of the fourteenth century. Traces of colour remain on the panels of a north-western window. The kitchen will have been at the west end.

To the south-west of the church are the beautiful dove cot and barn. The Bell Hotel has the reputation of having been the guest-house. There are the usual legends about subterranean passages leading to Medmenham and Bisham and who knows where. In nearly all cases these stories mean that somebody once hit upon the opening of the main drain of the place, walked a few yards down it, and invented the rest.

Hurley is, without doubt, a most attractive example of a small monastic house.

GREAT MALVERN [*O.S.B. Priory*

EDICATED to St. Mary and St. Michael, was a Benedictine Priory which probably grew out of a religious settlement established in that wild district (as it then was) not long before the Conquest. The name of Aldwin (eleventh century) has the best claim to be regarded as that of the founder. A legend which cannot be traced farther back than the fifteenth century tells of St. Werstan, who, fleeing from Deerhurst Abbey when the Danes sacked it, settled as a hermit among the Malvern hills, was helped by angels to build a chapel there, and was beheaded by villains of some kind. We know the story only as it is told in a window in the church. The same window shows us Aldwin receiving grants and charters from several nobles, and from St. Wulfstan and William I. He was the first Prior of the house.

Henry I confirmed the monastery in its possessions, and in his time it became attached to and dependent on the Abbey of Westminster, retaining its independence, however, to a considerable extent. The monks of Malvern were to elect their own Prior, who was to be confirmed by Westminster, and no monk was to be removed from Malvern without consent of the Priory. Westminster was too far off to interfere much with Malvern, and was strong enough to support Malvern against any encroachment attempted by the bishops of Worcester.

The second Prior of Malvern, Walcher (*d.* 1125), was an unusual and remarkable person. A native of Lorraine, he had travelled in Italy, and had—perhaps first among Europeans—made himself master of the use of the astrolabe. Tracts on astronomy by him are extant, and in his epitaph (to be seen in St. Anne's Chapel) he is praised as a geometrician and calculator.

I pass to the times of the Suppression, for there is not much of general interest in the intervening centuries. In 1538 we find Bishop Latimer of Worcester pleading with Thomas Cromwell on behalf of the Prior for the continuance of the Priory " natt in monkrye, he (the Prior) maynyth natt soo, God forbyd " but, *e.g.* " to mayntayne techynge, prechynge, studye with prayynge, ande (to the which he ys much gyvyne) good howskepyng. . . . The man ys old, a good howskepere, fedyth many, and that dayly, for the contreth (country) is poore and full of penurye ; and alas ! my good lord, shall we nat see ii or iii in every shyre changyd to such remedye ? " So, if four hundred marks to the King and two hundred to yourself will be any use, they will be forthcoming.

Of course, the catastrophe was not to be avoided by this offer or any other. The exact date of the surrender is not known. The annual value is given as £373 ; the Prior and eleven monks were pensioned. The gate house, Prior's house, and guest house were marked for survival, everything else for destruction. However, in 1541, the parishioners had the wisdom and courage to buy the church (for £20) to replace the inferior building—dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury—which was theirs before.

GREAT MALVERN CHURCH

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SHREWSBURY ABBEY CHURCH

The church thus happily preserved consists of a nave with aisles of unequal breadth (rebuilt north porch near the west end), central tower, small north transept, choir, with aisles and passage behind the altar.

Of this, the nave and south aisle and the lower part of the piers of the tower are Norman, and may be taken to be part of Aldwin's church. This ended, no doubt, in an apse, the line of which is preserved, or indicated, in the present arrangement of the east end. There was an ambulatory behind the altar, and there may have been apsidal chapels. But everything that we now see east of the tower is of the fifteenth century. So are the clerestory of the nave and the west window, and the north aisle. This has been rebuilt and widened; it was impossible to do the same with the south aisle, because the cloister abutted upon it; and here the original windows remain, set high up to be clear of the cloister roof. There is now no western entrance to the church.

The north transept, or Jesus Chapel, is also of the fifteenth century; that on the south, St. Ursula's Chapel, has disappeared, and what remains of the transept is filled with the organ. Of the choir aisles the southern is called St. Anne's Chapel, and is used for private devotion and occasional services. Under the east window is a door which once led into the Lady Chapel, destroyed after the Suppression; it seems to have been a rich fourteenth-century building.

Three things are of particular interest in this beautiful church—the glass, the misericord seats, the old floor and wall tiles.

Almost all of the original glass seems to have survived into the eighteenth century; we have more than one elaborate description of it, and these help greatly to the understanding and right arrangement of what is left. Casual damage, by hail and wind, and yet worse ravages wrought by the boys of a neighbouring school, have sadly reduced the amount. Still, the Jesus Chapel, the choir clerestory, the east window, and St. Anne's Chapel are practically full of old glass, and there are important fragments in the north aisle. In recent years all has been releaded and rearranged under the skilled supervision of Mr. G. McN. Rushforth; for the rearrangement in St. Anne's Chapel I was largely responsible myself.

There is no room here to catalogue these remains. That has been done in the Rev. A. Deane's excellent *Guide*, and is to be done more exhaustively in Mr. Rushforth's expected treatise.

I will only run through the chief subjects of the windows.

WEST WINDOW (formerly contained a Last Judgment, given, it was said, by Richard III). Single figures of saints gathered from many windows.

JESUS CHAPEL. West Window. Scenes of the life and miracles of Christ.

NORTH WINDOW. Joys of the Virgin above. At the sides and below, single figures of saints, and a row of portraits: Henry VII, Elizabeth of York (both fragmentary or gone), Prince Arthur, Sir Reginald Bray (both complete), and another gone.

CHOIR CLERESTORY (North). First window: Foundation of the Priory as shown in the story of St. Werstan and Aldwin (see above). Second

window: Six bishops, Virgin and Child, St. Anne. Third window: above, Annunciation and Presentation; below, Story of the Birth of the Virgin.

EAST WINDOW. Apostles, etc., in the tracery. Story of the Passion, much broken. Groups of donors, and fragments.

SOUTH CLERESTORY (from East). 1. Orders of Angels. 2. Saints; The Crucifixion. 3. Chiefly made up of fragments.

ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL. Three windows containing panels illustrating Genesis and Exodus, which were once in the nave clerestory and filled the great windows there. Also shields with the instruments of the Passion.

The *stalls* in the chancel have twenty-two ancient misericord seats out of an original twenty-four. Ten represent the occupations of the months (two are missing). The rest are miscellaneous in subject. They are a very fine set.

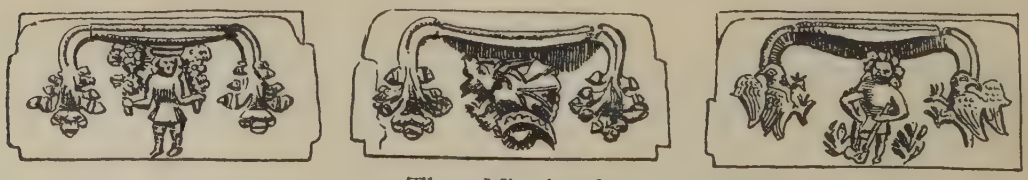
The *tiles*, of which there are over one thousand in the church (the floor tiles in the choir are modern), were made at Malvern. Some are dated 1453 and 1456. A large number are to be seen set in the curved wall behind the altar. One, fixed in a pillar near the west end of the nave, has on it some English rhymes, difficult to read, but (in somewhat simplified spelling) running thus:

> "*Thenke man thi life*
> *mai not ever endure.*
> *That thou dost thi self*
> *of that thou art sure,*
> *but that thou kepist*
> *unto thi sectur (executor's) cure*
> *and (if) ever hit availe thee*
> *hit is but aventure.*"

So you had better benefit the church or the poor in your lifetime, for you cannot trust your executor to carry out your wishes. The lines are known from other sources.

The great beauty of the church outside is its central tower, which closely resembles that of Gloucester. I need not dwell on its excellences, or on the admirable way in which it fits into the landscape.

The south side of the church overlooks private grounds, the garden of a hotel, once the cloister garth. The two doors into the cloister can be seen, one being blocked up. The hotel itself occupied the site of the Prior's lodging, one of the three buildings spared at the Suppression. Of the other two, the great hall, which had a very fine timber roof, was pulled down in 1841, and the gate house, much restored, remains.



Three Misericords

THE Benedictine Abbey here, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, is a post-Conquest foundation. It was in 1083 that Roger de Montgomery erected an already existing church into an abbey, and had two monks brought from Seez in Normandy, where he had possessions, to direct the arrangement of the buildings. Fulchered, the first Abbot, also came from Seez. The founder himself took the vows in his Abbey in 1094, three days before his death. The annual value as returned just before the Suppression was £615. Henry VIII at one time intended to make Shrewsbury the seat of a bishop, and to endow the See out of the revenues of the Abbey, the church of which would have been the cathedral. But the Act drafted to this effect was never passed. It would have been the means of preserving some other great churches, such as Bury St. Edmunds. What eventually happened here was that the nave of the church was given to the parishioners of Holy Cross, and the rest of the buildings granted to one William Langley.

Such outside celebrity as attached to this Abbey was chiefly due to the presence of the relics of St. Winifred, which were translated thither in 1138 from Gwytherin. A piece of screen work connected with her shrine remains in the north aisle. I have read that another piece with figures of St. John Baptist, Winifred, and Beuno, was for many years in a garden in the town. It cannot be traced now.

Of an original Norman cruciform church, we now have the western portion, an aisled nave 123 feet long, with western tower and north porch. Transepts, chancel, and nave roof are modern.

Of the six bays of the nave, the two western were remodelled in the fourteenth century; the eastern are Norman. The broad piers half-way down probably mark the division between the monks' and the townspeople's portions. The rood screen will have stood here, and the pulpitum one bay further east. The west door and much of the west wall is also of Norman date. The tower, which is a fourteenth-century addition, has a very large Perpendicular west window. Over it is a mutilated image of a king, said to be Edward III. The church is full of monuments, many of which have been brought from churches in the town (St. Chad's and St. Alkmund's) and some from Wellington. One, ascribed in a modern brass inscription to the founder, is far later than his time. Others, of a judge (north aisle) and of an ecclesiastic, T. More (south aisle), are worthy of examination, as are the altar-tombs at the west end of the north aisle.

The modern additions to the church, by Pearson, are of considerable dignity and importance.

The monastic buildings were on the south side, now traversed by a street. The foundations of some have been traced, *e.g.* the west wall of the chapter house and its apsidal end. The west range was the cellarer's. The

plate in the *Monasticon* shows some medieval structures still attached to the church at the west end. Two quadrangles are recorded to have existed, the larger being that of the cloister buildings, the smaller containing the abbot's lodging and other offices. "This, with what may have been the guest hall, was removed in 1865, for railway purposes." Much had already gone in 1840. A portion which was called part of the infirmary remains in a mutilated state south-west of the church. It was probably the granary and part of the guest buildings.

The only other relic (besides the cloister doors into the nave) is the frater pulpit, that very pretty structure which stands by itself among the railway sheds on the other side of the street. It shows in front a three-sided oriel, approached by steps from behind. On the panels below the windows are images of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Annunciation, St. Winifred, and St. Beuno (?). Within, the centre boss of the vaulting has the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John.

I am not writing a Guide to Shrewsbury, but I cannot avoid mention of the extraordinary collection of old stained glass, English and foreign, in the splendid church of St. Mary's. The bulk of it is due to a former vicar, W. G. Rowland (1827–51). Some of the finest fifteenth-century German glass that can be seen in this country is to be found there. The principal series, scattered over several windows, concerns the life of St. Bernard; it came from Altenburg Abbey.

In the Abbey Church

SHREWSBURY ABBEY CHURCH

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READING ABBEY: CHAPTER HOUSE

READING [O.S.B. *Cluniac*

THE Abbey of Reading, dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, was founded (or refounded; see below) by Henry I in June 1121, on a site between the rivers of Thames (on the north) and Kennet (on the south), much nearer to the latter. The Great Western Railway line runs not far from the northern edge of the precinct.

The Abbey was of the Cluniac Order. The Cluniacs were the first of several Orders founded with the object of keeping more strictly the Rule of St. Benedict. They date back as far as 912. A distinguishing mark of the Order was, that all its houses were directly subject to the one mother-house of Cluny (near Mâcon). The Abbot of Cluny nominated the superior of every subordinate house, and to him they all owed allegiance. The first Cluniac priory founded in England was at Barnstaple; it never became important; the next, that of St. Pancras at Lewes, set up in 1077, was the senior house in England. All the English Cluniac monasteries were priories except Reading and Bermondsey. There were thirty-two of them still existing at the Dissolution.

Reading, however, did not long remain Cluniac; in the course of the thirteenth century we find it mentioned as simply Benedictine; and Benedictine it remained. The exact date of this change does not seem to be known.

Henry I had been a great benefactor to the mother-church of Cluny, and we are not surprised to find him encouraging the Order at home. He endowed Reading very richly, and colonised it with monks from Lewes and Cluny. His charter of 1125 begins with the statement that there were three abbeys in England which had been done away with because of their sins, viz. Reading, Chelsea, and Leominster. "He will now refound Reading and give to it the possessions of the other two." William of Malmesbury confirms this statement by saying that there was once a nunnery at Reading, long since abolished. Of this we know no more.

The charter once granted, building proceeded steadily. When Henry died (at Bois-Lion, near Rouen) in 1135, and was brought to England, the church was far enough advanced for him to be buried in front of the high altar. But not till 1164 do we read that the church was finally consecrated. This was done by the Archbishop, Thomas Becket, in the presence of Henry II and many nobles.

The only important addition made to the church seems to have been that of the Lady Chapel, which was added at the extreme east end (the usual place) in 1314. Of the other buildings of the Abbey we have really no history. Among the many events of more or less interest which are bound up with the Abbey, one of the most brilliant was the wedding of John of Gaunt with Blanche, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, on May 19, 1359. An earlier one, which may also stir the imagination, was the visit of Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Henry II in 1185. The Patriarch earnestly besought

the King to rescue the Holy Land from the Moslem domination, and would have had him accept the kingship of Jerusalem; but Henry was not to be moved, and the Patriarch went away disappointed.

The Suppression was as evilly carried out as that of Glastonbury. Hugh Cook (Faringdon), the last Abbot, though a friend of the King, and, so far as can be gathered, a wholly upright and very courageous man, was executed as a traitor in 1539 at Reading. His real offence was that he would not acknowledge the King's supremacy in other than temporal matters, and would not voluntarily surrender his Abbey. In 1895 he, with his fellow-sufferers of Glastonbury and Colchester, was beatified by the Roman Pontiff. The Abbey fell to the King, and the expelled monks were not even pensioned until Mary's reign. The annual value at the Suppression was somewhat over £2000.

Henry VIII made part of the monastic buildings into some sort of palace, which was used now and again by the next three sovereigns, and not much harm befell the church in his time. In 1550 Edward VI granted the Abbey (as he did Glastonbury) to Protector Somerset, on whose name be anything but peace. The parish church of St. Mary in Reading was rebuilt, and, to provide material, the choir was taken down; in the course of this, Henry I's tomb was broken up and his bones scattered. Later, the Poor Knights' Lodgings at Windsor Castle were built of the spoils of the Lady Chapel, and in 1643, when the Parliament besieged the town, the construction of defensive works involved the wiping out of most of the nave. The tale of destruction could be lengthened, but shall not. The result is that very little of the great Abbey remains above ground, and what does remain is a series of masses of flint rubble, which have been stripped of every bit of their stone facing. To get to them you pass through the Forbury Gardens, and under a subway in the right-hand (south-east) corner. They are the property of the Corporation, and are well cared for. An excellent plan is hung up at the entrance, and each bit of building has its name affixed to it.

Refectory and Cloister Walls

All the four outer gateways of the precinct are gone, but the inner gateway survives, though in a much restored condition; it is a building of some interest. In the room over the gate, the "trial" of the last Abbot is said to have taken place.

The church was 450 feet long, and, except the eastern Lady Chapel, was a Norman building,

hi sunt libri qui continentur in
Radingensi ecclesia.

Bibliotece. im. prima in duob: uolu
minibus. Secda in tribus. Tertia parua
q̃ fuit R. londoñ epi: in duob: uo
luminibus. Quarta similit in duobus
uoluminibus quam G. cantor fecit re
tendam in claustro.

Pentateuchum glosati q̃d fuit R. epi
londoñ. saluet Genesis in uno uol.
in quo etiam continentur. n. libri
salomonis glosati. saluet parabole
& ecclesiastes. ¶ uoluminibus.

Exodus in uno uol. leuiticus. liber
numeri. Deuteronomii: in singlis
Iosue in uno uolumine in q̃ etiam
continentur lib sapie & eccla stici
glosata fiant solus.

Iudicum glosati fiant scol' in uno
uolumine. in q̃ etiam continent Ruth.
parabole. eccl'astes. cantica canticorum.

Regum glosat sic in scol' legi solet.
Xpo sup libros regũ in uno volum.
sacras glosatus.

Decreta. x. in singlis volum. prima q̃
fuerunt magri Gilebti. Secda: que
Anselm supponor dedit. Tertia: que
fuerunt Adam de dunmee. Quarta:
q̃ G. cantor fecit. habenda i claust.
Quinta: q̃ fuerit hug phia.

Saltera duo opuma glosata mt
uneas. unum: quod fuit Rogeri
Sigar. alim: q̃d fuit hug de Bukin
geham. Sedm. ay. pecum.

Item psalterium glosatum q̃d magri
G. dedit. ¶ psalterium.

Glose sup psalm sedm. ay. Rad. in
uno uol. ti etiam quinet alia expo sup
i psalm qo Rog dure teste dedit
glosati sedm G. parensem.

Epl' pauli Glosate sedm. ay. p. quas
magister. G. dedit.

Item expo sup epl'as pauli sedm. ay.
G. parensem in uno uolumine. ii &
Ex. tertius epl'arum ante glosas.

Item epl'e pauli in uno uolumine
in q̃ etiam continet breuis expo sup
psalm. & Amalarius. & expositio
remigii Autissiodorensis sup canonem
misse & liber pentecostalis.

Item epl'e pauli glosate in uno volu
mine. ii etiam & de interpretationibus
hebraicorum nominum.

Amo sup epl'as pauli in uno uol.

Sententie. ay. petri in uno uolumine
que fuerunt. ay. G. ¶ circulum.

Item sententie. ay. p. in alio volum
q̃ fuerunt ay. martini. in quo etiam
volum continet lib unu. sedm lib pe
damiani de officiis diuinis p annu

Item liber sic incipit. liber sententia
rum. in q̃ etiam continentur breuis
& utilis greptio historie ueteris & noui
testamenti. & plures tractatus. & sne
diuerse ex diuersis locis sumpte.

Item lib sic incipit. sne patrum. lib
magne utilitatis.

Item liber. ay. hugonis de sacramentis
in uno uolumine. ii & illa suma
de fide. spe. & karitate. ¶ volum.

Item lib. ay. h. de sacramentis in uno

Canticorum sup psalm in tb: volum.

Parabole salomonis in uno uolumine
ii & uol' q̃dam greptio sententiarum
magistri. p.

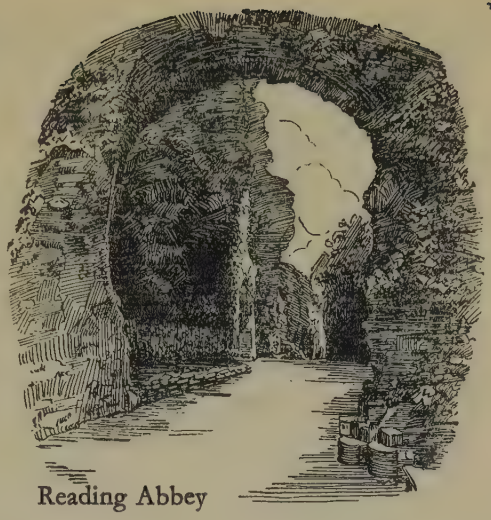
Augustinus sup psalm in tribus uol.

Augustinus sup cantica graduum et
usq: ad finem psalt in uno uol.

Augustinus de cantate dei. in uno
uolumine.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF READING ABBEY, early XIII Cent. From the Reading Abbey Cartulary. British Museum, Egerton MS. 3031, f. 8b. [This same MS. contains also a list of the relics preserved at Reading, etc.]

with an apsidal end. The transepts had each two apsidal chapels on the east; the innermost one on the south transept extended farther east than the rest; it may have been the old Lady Chapel. There was a central tower over the crossing. Fragments of the piers of this tower, and more considerable ones of the transepts, especially the south, are all that survive of the church. Next to the south transept wall the vestry, or the slype, is traceable, and then (going south), the chapter house, on the whole, the best preserved piece of all. It is apsidal, and has its triple entrance, and three great windows above. In it, no doubt, the Parliament sat, when, as not seldom happened, it met at Reading. Some modern bas-reliefs of the first Abbot being invested by the King and the last Abbot executed, and a facsimile of *Sumer is icumen in*, are on the walls. Next to it, going south, is a passage (to the infirmary?) and then the basement of the dorter, which extends beyond the cloister. The access from dorter to church must, it seems, here have been by way of the cloister. At the southern end, at right angles to the dorter, was the rere-dorter, under which ran the main drain communicating with the Kennet.



Reading Abbey

The cloister garth is laid out in private gardens; the east corner and southern wall of the frater are traceable on the south side, and that is really all that need be said of the remains.

I have observed that the stone facings have been completely stripped off and no decorative work left; yet we can gain some idea of the richness of the building from a visit to the Reading Museum—a place by all means to *be* visited, in regard of its magnificent collection of Roman remains from Silchester. Here are a large number of very beautiful carved fragments of Norman date, notably a series of capitals, brought to light (from Sonning) by Mr. C. E. Keyser, the well-known antiquary (who, in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries for 1915–16, has described and figured all the relics of sculptured decoration which can be traced to this Abbey). There are more such fragments at Shiplake House, and a large collection at Windsor Castle, ranged along the curtain-wall of the Round Tower. There is, moreover, in the Roman Catholic Church at Reading a font made up of similar carved work. These remains give a very high idea of the richness of the work in the Abbey church and cloistral buildings.

A word on the library of the monastery. It was large and important. We have a catalogue made in the thirteenth century of some 228 volumes. Quite a large number of these have been preserved in our public libraries. Dr. J. B. Hurry, from whose excellent *Reading Abbey* (1901) I have drawn much of this article, has made a list of over sixty, but it could be considerably increased.

Probably the most famous of Reading books is one in the British Museum (Harley MS. 978) of the first half of the thirteenth century, in which the famous and beautiful " endless canon," *Sumer is icumen in*, is preserved.

A noteworthy fact is that during the last seven years of the fifteenth century a Greek scribe, Joannes Serbopoulos, was resident in the monastery and employed in transcribing Greek manuscripts, several of which, in his unmistakable and ugly hand, exist at Oxford and Cambridge.

By a curious chance something which is believed to be the relic principally venerated at Reading Abbey has survived—the hand of St. James the Great. It was found concealed in the church wall in 1786, and is now preserved in the Roman Catholic Church at Great Marlow.

In a Lambeth manuscript that belonged to Reading (No. 371), I find notices of an image of great sanctity, of the Child Jesus, which was given to Henry I by the Duke of Aquitaine. " Before it every one who prostrates himself in its chapel always obtains by the grace of God the fulfilment of his devout prayer in any trouble." It was called the Child of Grace. In the same book are some verses which show that there was an important set of pictures or images of Apostles and Prophets in the church.

Of institutions which depended on the Abbey, two were of special interest. The first is the Hospitium of St. John Baptist, founded by Abbot Hugh II between 1189 and 1193. It was connected with the Church of St. Laurence, west of the Abbey, and had important buildings. Having gradually fallen out of use, it was, in 1485, converted to the uses of a grammar school. Part of the dorter of the Hospitium still exists and is occupied by the University College.

The other, which will form the subject of a short separate article, is the Priory of Leominster in Herefordshire.

Ruins of Treasury and Chapel

LEOMINSTER CHURCH: NORTH SIDE

Facing page 84

LEOMINSTER CHURCH

LEOMINSTER [*O.S.B. Priory*

AS is set forth in the story of Reading, Leominster was one of three abbeys that had been suppressed "because of their sins" in days before the Conquest. The tradition was that it was founded about 660 by King Merewald, son of Penda, probably as a house of monks. Later on it was a nunnery. In 1046, Sweyn, the son of Godwin, tried to marry the Abbess Eadgifu. It was no doubt the scandal connected with this proceeding that led to the suppression of the house. Henry I made it a "cell" to Reading Abbey in 1125, and in that dependent position it continued till the general suppression. It was the richest of all such cells, valued at £660 a year.

The church, which is really all that remains—and even that is not complete—is a very remarkable and beautiful building. Its dimensions (125 feet by 100 feet) are very unusual. It consists, in fact, of *three* parallel naves, a north aisle, and a western tower. The northern nave, with its one remaining aisle (St. Anthony's), is Norman; the lower stages of the tower and its west door are also Norman. Within, the blocked triforium and part of the clerestory are to be seen. Next, the south aisle of the Norman church was replaced by an Early English nave, consecrated in 1239. Last, a Decorated nave was added on the south of this. It is distinguished by a profusion of the ornament called ball-flower, most conspicuous as the visitor approaches from that side.

In 1700 a fire cleared out the southern part of the church, and necessitated an expenditure of £16,000 in restoration. Tuscan pillars were put in, and the area was pewed and galleried. Much, therefore, of the present arcading dates from the time when the church was Gothicised again.

The choir of the church is gone; the site of it may be seen over the churchyard wall at the east end, but it is not accessible. Leland, about 1540, says of it, "The church of the priorie was hard joyned to the est end of the paroch church and was but a small thing." However, the excavations which were made in 1849 under Professor Freeman's supervision showed relics of a more important building than these words would lead one to expect. Transepts, the southern one with an apsidal chapel, an apsidal choir with ambulatory and two radiating apsidal chapels, and traces of an eastern chapel, were revealed.

In the north aisle, near the west end, is a remarkable mural painting of the late thirteenth century, representing the Wheel of Life. It has been thoroughly expounded by Mr. Rushforth (*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 1913–14), and an illustration from a manuscript hangs beneath it. In the same part of the church one of the few remaining ducking stools is preserved.

Some of the modern glass in the south aisle is of more than ordinary merit.

The monastic buildings, which were on the north side, have pretty completely disappeared. The entrance into the cloister may be discerned. Perhaps the base of the rere-dorter survives in the building towards the east, which is now the workhouse, and was known as the Priory House.

THIS is the only house of the Order of Tiron which we have to notice. The history of this Order or "congregation" is rather like that of the Savigny Order. It was set up by one Bernard of Abbeville, a disciple of Robert of Arbrissel, in or about 1109. The place, Thiron, where land was given him for his monastery, is near Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure-et-Loir). The Order was Reformed Benedictine. Bernard made a great impression on the men of his time, and monks from Thiron were drafted off to England, Wales, and Scotland, to found abbeys there. Bernard died in 1116 or 1117: his Order subsisted longer than that of Savigny; it was not until 1629 that it was absorbed into the congregation of St. Maur in France.

It was either Martin de Turribus or Robert his son who founded St. Dogmael's.* The first charter we have is that of Robert, in the reign of Henry the First. He gives the monks the old church of St. Dogmael (near Cardigan, on the Teifi). St. Dogmael or Dogfael is a personage of whom very little is known. According to Baring-Gould and Fisher, he must have spent most of his life in Pembrokeshire, for dedications to him in Wales are practically confined to that county. He is, however, also honoured in Brittany. Another Dogfael was a companion of St. Columbanus at Luxeuil.

In the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, is the only manuscript I have seen that was owned by St. Dogmael's; and on its flyleaves are copies of a number of documents connected with the Abbey, including an account of attempted encroachments by the burgesses of Cardigan in 1242, and the successful repulse thereof by the monks.

To St. Dogmael's belonged a small priory on the island of Caldey, off Tenby, where a monastery has been established in recent years.

The clear annual revenue of St. Dogmael's at the Suppression was £87. The Abbot and eight monks sign the surrender.

The remains are considerable. They are in the private grounds of the vicarage, and permission must be obtained to visit them. Fenton, in his *Tour through Pembrokeshire* (1811), writes thus: "If we may judge by the few fine specimens of arches and ornamental mouldings in the existing remnant of the choir, as well as foundations and other fragments of buildings everywhere to be traced for a great compass, St. Dogmael's was a splendid building, and must have covered a very considerable space of ground. The choir occupied the area of the lanthorn or steeple, as at St. David's, but on a smaller scale. Within this area are two canopied recesses, as I find from some additions to Leland from Edward Lhwyd's MSS., that once enclosed the effigies of the founder and his son. The refectory, a curious structure still perfect, but now used for a barn, is a large room with a lofty vaulted roof in good preservation,

* But they call it in the charter St. Mary of Kemeys.

formerly well lighted by a handsome end window, as well as side ones of fine tracery. Over the end window, they say, there is in a stone a date cut, which, on account of the height and the darkness of the place, I could not make out so as to presume to found any credit on it. . . . The present parish church is of mean appearance, but very long, and evidently raised from the ruins of the Abbey, as the windows of the chancel, though not without glass, exhibit remains of workmanship that could never have been meant originally to furnish such an edifice." This last inference is hardly warranted.

So far Mr. Fenton, whose account shall now be supplemented from more recent sources.

Of the church, the principal remains are the west gable, the north wall of the nave, and the north transept.

The church was cruciform, with aisleless nave and large choir. In the west wall are remains of a large window : in the north wall, recesses of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for monuments.

Of the buildings (on the south) there remain part of the cloister wall and the south side of the frater, with the staircase to the reader's pulpit. East of the frater, about 150 feet away, and nearly in the same line, is a more perfect building, measuring about 30 feet by 21 feet, with a vaulted roof : in its south wall are recesses. This is what Fenton, quoted above, calls the refectory ; from its position it seems more likely to have to do with the infirmary.

Various interesting sculptured stones, including a famous Ogam inscription, are preserved on the site.

Ruins of St. Dogmael's Abbey

BROMFIELD PRIORY [*O.S.B. Priory*

ON the Teme, near Ludlow, replaced a college of secular canons, who in 1155 embraced the Benedictine Rule and put themselves under Gloucester Abbey, to which the house continued to be a cell. At the Dissolution its income was £67.

"The arch of the gateway is standing, with the western portion of the church. The latter has been so mutilated as not to deserve attention." So says the *Monasticon*, borrowing, as it often does, from the *Beauties of England and Wales*. It is not a fair description. Both gate house and church are quite interesting.

The lower storey of the gate house is fourteenth-century stonework, the upper part a later timbered black and white structure, the whole reminding one of Polesworth.

The church has a nave and massive tower at the north-west angle. East of this on the north is a projecting chapel, or aisle, with four lancet windows and a modern extension. There was a Norman transept, of which the arch remains. At the east end is a blocked Norman arch (it led originally into the destroyed choir), which has a blocked Perpendicular window in it. Above this, in the gable, is a blocked sixteenth-century window. The history of this is that the grantee, Charles Fox, built himself a house, after the Suppression, in and over the chancel. These windows, or at least the upper one, belonged to this house. The chancel was given back to the church in 1650, and the interesting painted ceiling was executed in 1672. A door in the south wall leads out into some other ruins of Fox's house. It was here, presumably, that the monastic buildings stood.

Dr. Cranage thinks that a central tower fell at the end of the twelfth century and partly destroyed the chancel and north transept. The present tower was added early in the thirteenth century, and the nave aisle somewhat later. The monastic portion was then reduced to the south transept and the chancel ; the parish had the nave and the aisle.

BROMFIELD CHURCH FROM WEST

Facing page 88

BROMFIELD GATEHOUSE

DUNSTER [*O.S.B. Priory*

UNSTER is a near neighbour to Cleeve, and its beauty is famous. Besides the castle of the Luttrells—the distant view of which is really romantic—it has a church, a compound of the parochial and monastic, of great size and distinction.

Leland, writing soon after the Suppression, says: "The hole church of the priory servith now for the paroch church. Afore tymes the monkes had the Est part closed up to their use." This closing up was done in 1499, at the decision of the Abbot of Glastonbury, who, with another, was chosen to arbitrate in a quarrel between the monks and the parishioners. Such quarrels were almost inevitable where monks and seculars shared one building on almost equal terms.

This church is a large cruciform building with aisled nave. Outside, it looks all of the fifteenth century, but inside Early English work may be seen. The shortness of the north aisle as compared with the south is due to the attachment of the monastic buildings to the church on that side. The west end has a Norman portal much restored, which is the oldest feature to be seen about the building. Inside, the conspicuous object is the rich coved screen which runs right across. It formerly stood farther east and divided town from Priory.

East of the screen was the monks' church, including transepts and chancel. From the Priory it descended to the Luttrells, and is or was "as much their private property as the castle"; just as the chancel of Arundel and the Blount aisle at Mapledurham belong to the Howards and the Blounts. It was long out of use and "totally neglected; although it contains many fine monumental tombs and escutcheons of the Mohun and Luttrell families, now perishing with their owners in the dust, and exhibiting a strong rebuke" [in the opinion of Mr. Collinson, the historian of the county] "to the vanity of human greatness." There is indeed a splendid monument to Sir Thomas Luttrell; older is that of Elizabeth Luttrell, 1493 (south choir aisle).

NUNC CHRISTE TE PETIMUS
MISERERE QUESUMUS QUI VENISTI REDIMERE PERDITAS
NOLI DAMPNARE REDEMPTOS

Older again are the effigies on north and south of the choir under cusped canopies, the cusps ending in one case with (new?) heads, in the other with angels bearing shields.

A beautiful feature is an Early English arch opening eastward out of the south transept. Peculiar in form, it is filled with a piece of rich screen-work which in part seems to be of late fourteenth century.

The monastic buildings have left little trace; they were on the north, and a fragment of the Prior's lodging exists. More prominent is the dove cot, farther off—a fine specimen. The house at the entrance of the churchyard, on the south, was that of the parish priest.

LITTLE MALVERN [*O.S.B. Priory*

TWO brothers, Jocelin and Edred, monks of Worcester, are said to have founded this Priory in 1171. But it is difficult to see how two ordinary monks could have simply left their monastery, as these are reputed to have done. The annals of Worcester state the case more correctly when they say that Jocelin and Edred received the habit of religion (the monastic habit), and the Rule of St. Benedict, and the customs, from the (monastic) Chapter of Worcester.

The dedication was to the Virgin, to St. Giles, and St. John Evangelist. At the Suppression the annual value, net, was £98. The intervening history does not seem to offer any startling incidents.

Part of the church remains as the parish church of Little Malvern, namely, the central tower and chancel; nave and transept (except some fragments of walling) are gone. Some Norman work is left, but John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, claimed to have rebuilt the church in Edward IV's time.

Each transept had a chapel: that on the south is the better preserved of the two. Inside, the position of the screen is curious, resembling that at St. David's, and meant to divide choir from presbytery. Some of the original roof-bosses, in wood, survive.

The most interesting thing to be seen there now is the fragments of the glass, put in by Alcock into the great Perpendicular east window. As in the case of Great Malvern, we have a record, made in the seventeenth century (by Habington), of the contents of the window. There are two tiers of six large lights, and Habington's notes tell us that in these were kneeling figures of Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Woodville (these faced each other), and of Edward, Prince of Wales (Edward V), Richard, Duke of York, four princesses, and Bishop Alcock. The arrangement was not unlike that in the north transept window of Canterbury Cathedral, and in that of Malvern Priory. The figure of Prince Edward remains, and the lower part of the queen, the princesses, and Alcock. There was heraldry in the tracery lights; the arms of the king and the Prince of Wales at least remain. At the bottom was Alcock's inscription, "Pray for the soul of John Alcock, bishop of Worcester, who rebuilt this church . . . formerly chancellor of England, and president of the council of King Edward the fourth."

In a north window is a fine crowned head, traditionally called King David, but really a Christ, being part of a Coronation of the Virgin. There are also a number of heraldic tiles and the remains of stalls.

The Priory buildings on the south are not accessible; what remains of them (probably the Prior's lodging) is incorporated in a private house and grounds. "Here," says an "elegant" writer of a hundred years ago, "art has a venerable aspect given to it by time—here nature is rendered pleasing by her exuberance and charming simplicity"—a truly characteristic utterance.

EWENNY [O.S.B. *Priory*

FOUNDED in 1140 as a cell to the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester by Maurice de Lundres, whose tomb remains in the north transept with the (later) inscription :

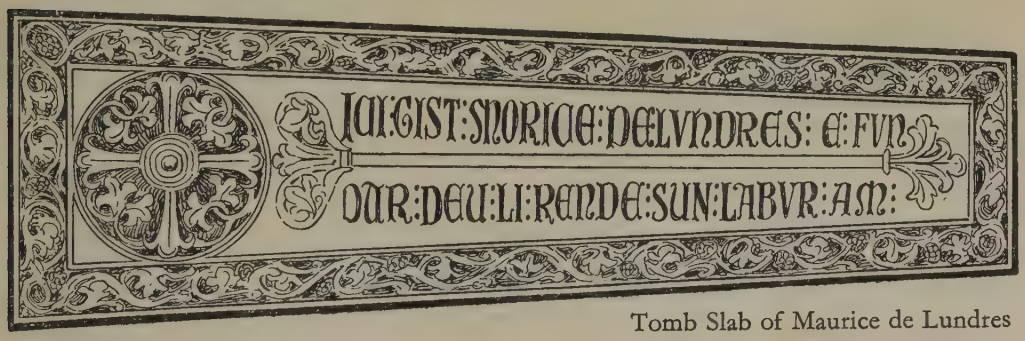
ICI GIST MORICE DE LUNDRES LE FUNDUR
DEU LI RENDE SUN LABUR. AMEN.

The value of the Priory, as reckoned among the possessions of Gloucester Abbey, at the Suppression, was £20 10*s*.

The church, now a parish church, ranks as the best piece of pure Norman building in Wales. It consists of nave (north aisle gone), central tower, south transept, and chancel. The north transept, and some chapels on the north of the choir and east of the south transept, have disappeared. There is a north porch. The monks' choir was under the tower. A solid screen divides it from the nave. The chancel has fine barrel vaulting. In the south transept, inside, and on the east wall outside, is good arcading. There is a squint (or hagioscope), an interesting font, a double piscina ; there are also some notable tiles, heraldic and figured. In the east arch of the tower is a wooden screen, dividing choir from presbytery. An old stone relief representing a rider on a horse, the tail of which is caught by a beast, was found not long ago.

The gate house remains, and some relics of the other buildings are incorporated in the Priory house on the south.

Freeman says of this place : " It exists very nearly as it was originally built, and it consequently shows us what a religious edifice raised by invaders in the midst of a half-conquered country was required to be."



Tomb Slab of Maurice de Lundres

PENMON [O.S.B. *Priory*

EAR Beaumaris, is one of the most attractive of small priories, or was so before slate-quarrying cut up the approach to it.

The earliest charter we have is of 1221, when Llewellyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales, gives an estate to the Prior and canons of Insula Glannauch. In 1237 Llewellyn, Prince of Aberfrau, gives them "the whole Abbey of Penmon."

But the history goes back farther than this. Penmon and Glannauch are not identical, in the first place. Glannauch is one name for the isle of Priestholm, or Puffin Island, which is less than a mile from Penmon. Both places were inhabited by St. Seiriol in the sixth century, and it is to King Maelgwyn Gwynedd, who died in 547 and was buried on Priestholm, that the foundation of monasteries at Penmon and at Glannauch is attributed. At what date either establishment discarded old Celtic fashions of monasticism we do not know, but in 1140 we hear of a Prior of Penmon, Idwal, son of Griffith ap Cynan, and he is described as "the sunshine of the country"; moreover, the church is a twelfth-century building. Thus what Llewellyn did was to re-found and regularise an existing house. As the inmates are uniformly called the Prior and canons, it seems as if they must have been Augustinians, though the books usually call them Benedictines.

Hermits still lived on Priestholm in the twelfth century, and Giraldus Cambrensis tells us of a singular dispensation of Providence which attended them. Whenever they quarrelled, all their provisions were devoured and infected by a species of small mice, which only troubled them at such times. A tower and a ruined chapel of St. Seiriol remain on the island.

But Penmon was the habitable place, and it attained eminence in Anglesey, for the Prior was one of the three spiritual lords of the island.

The church remains, a cruciform Norman building with a central tower. The north transept is gone. The south transept has arcaded walls inside, and a Celtic cross with interlaced patterns is preserved there. In a window is a fifteenth-century figure of St. Seiriol in the glass, a bearded man with round cap holding a crosier and a book and rosary. The font is early and remarkable, square, with Celtic patterns carved on it. The holy water stoup is formed out of a Norman capital. The church and buildings form a square of three sides open towards the east. The site of the cloister is traceable, and the frater. The range adjoining the church is a dwelling-house. Near by is a later square pigeon-house, a most excellent specimen, and a holy well, which perhaps retains its repute for healing powers to-day: it did so quite recently. In the park, or warren, which adjoins the monastery, is a fine early cross carved with beautiful patterns.

Those who sympathise with me in a liking for Sheridan Le Fanu's novels may be glad to hear that in one of them, *Tenants of Malory*, Penmon and its surroundings play a not inconspicuous part. Malory is, in fact, Penmon.

DUNSTER CHURCH: ARCH AND SCREEN

Facing page 92

DUNSTER CHURCH

ABERGAVENNY [O.S.B. *Priory*

A BENEDICTINE Priory, was founded by Hamelin de Balun, a Norman who came over with the Conqueror. William de Braose further endowed it in King John's time, and apparently it was he who made it a dependency of the Abbey of St. Vincent at Le Mans, in which position it long remained. But it must have been separated and "made denizen" before the Dissolution, for it does not seem to have been confiscated by the Crown like other alien priories. The clear revenue at the Suppression was £129.

The parish church of Abergavenny is the Priory church. The nave, which has a north aisle, was rebuilt in 1882. There is a central tower, and transepts, which are prolonged eastwards so as to form chapels, which open into the choir by arcades. Little Norman work is to be seen except a transept arch. Most of the building is of the fourteenth century.

Canopied stalls remain in the choir, and that of the Prior is distinguished by a mitre.

The most unusual object in the church is an immense wooden figure of Jesse reclining, with the Tree springing from his body; it has been suggested that, as at Dorchester, it was combined with glass and carving in the window above it to form a complete Jesse-tree composition.

The sepulchral monuments in this church are many and remarkable, especially those of the Herberts in the chapel south of the choir.

The earliest, in the chancel, is of a lady with a shield lying upon her body, in knightly fashion, of about 1270. Another adjacent effigy of a lady was said formerly to have held in its hand an image of a squirrel. The lady had a pet squirrel which escaped, and in chasing it she fell from a wall and was killed!

Second in date is a wooden effigy of a knight (*c.* 1300), in the north aisle. Next come two knights, one with crossed legs, the other with his legs straight, of about 1340. Of one of them the old Bethgelert story of the faithful hound killed in error used to be told.

Among the fifteenth-century Herbert monuments is a fine alabaster tomb-chest or altar tomb, with two effigies on it, and the sides carved with canopied statues of Apostles holding scrolls: at the end is the Annunciation, flanked by angels. This is of about 1440. Another of like design is about ten years later. In the south wall is that of one of the Sir Richard Herberts (of 1520), with the Assumption of the Virgin at the back of it.

Those who like good Latin verse of a later age should read the tablet put up by Dr. Roberts, Provost of Eton, to the memory of his family. It is on the north side of the choir.

Of the conventual buildings on the south side of the church, some remains are or were to be seen incorporated in a dwelling-house called the Priory, but they are not ordinarily accessible.

CHEPSTOW [*O.S.B. Priory*

OF this Benedictine Priory, anciently called Striguil, a word must be said, since we still have the nave of its church. The identity of the founder is not, it seems, known, further than that he was one of the lords of the castle of Chepstow, and must have set up his Priory as early as the twelfth century. He made it a cell to the Abbey of Cormeilles (Eure), north of Lisieux. Though granted by Edward IV to God's House (the predecessor of Christ's College, Cambridge), it subsisted till the Dissolution, when three monks were there, and the revenue was £32.

We have, as I said, the nave of the church—that is, five out of six bays, with aisles. William of Worcester (*c.* 1480) gives the dimensions as 50 yards long and 33 broad (doubtless across the transepts). The lower part of the west porch remains, with a fine Norman door flanked by blind arches, and a Norman triplet above. There was a central tower which fell at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and its materials were used in the construction of the western one. The nave arcade is also Norman, and the massive piers are not columnar but rectangular.

The triforium consists of a pair of round-headed openings to each bay, and the clerestory of single round-headed lights.

The windows, at least of the aisles, are later. The choir and crossing were taken down after the Suppression. The present east end shows the Norman piers outside.

The best monument inside the church is the tomb of Henry (Herbert), second Earl of Worcester, who died in 1549.

I do not gather that any remains of the conventual buildings can now be traced.

Norman West Door

USK [*O.S.B. Nuns' Priory*

HAD also its Benedictine Priory, for nuns, five of whom were settled here early in the thirteenth century; but the foundation must go back to the twelfth. The nuns prayed "on Shere Thursday" (Maundy Thursday) for the founders, viz. "Sir Richard de Clare, Sir Gilbert his son, earls of the Marches, Edmund Earl of the Marches and my Lord Richard Duke of York." The last named (in the fifteenth century, of course) gave about £2 a year to maintain wax and oil in the Priory. The revenue was £55 clear at the Suppression.

The church had nave and north aisle, central tower, transept, and choir. Transept and choir are gone, leaving the tower at the east end of the present church. The tower arches still show Norman work; nave and aisle are of the fourteenth century; the space under the tower forms the chancel. There were chapels or altars of St. Radegund and St. Mary Magdalene in the building.

There is a celebrated brass here with a Welsh inscription. The first decipherer of it made it to be the epitaph of a professor of astronomy who presided over a college of two hundred philosophers at Caerleon, before the coming of the Saxons! This is not a bad illustration of the uncertainty that attended on the interpretation of Celtic monuments; that sometimes, indeed, attends upon it still. The brass (whose lettering seems not earlier than the fifteenth century) is now said to commemorate the chronicler Adam of Usk, who died in 1430.

Archdeacon Coxe gives a view of the gate house of Usk Priory with a round arched portal and gabled roof, as it stood in 1800.

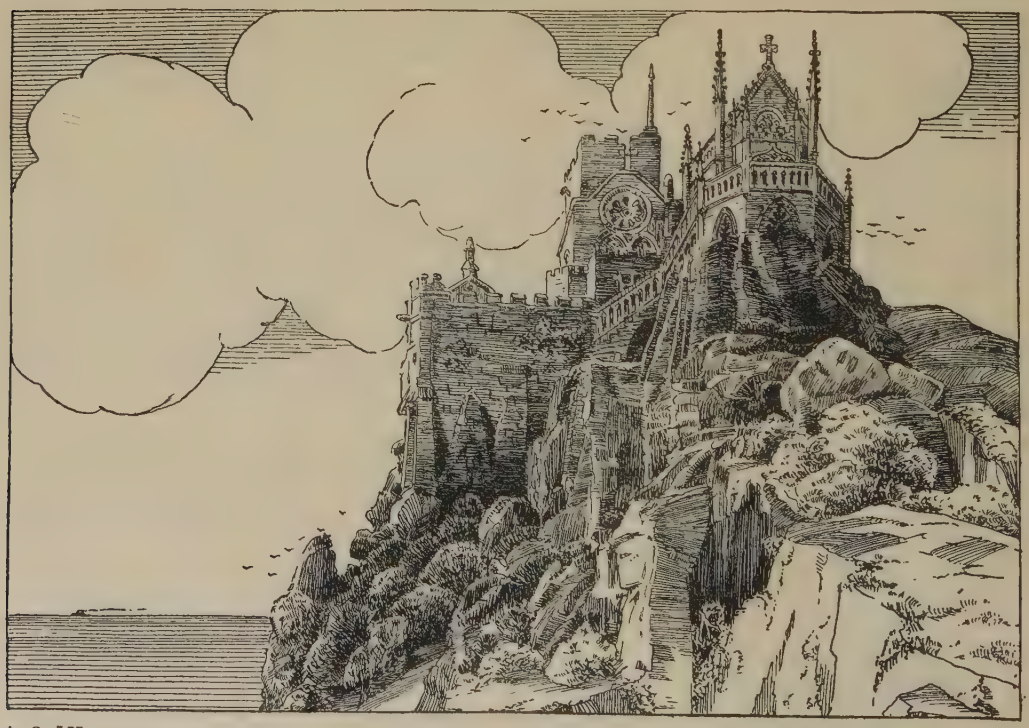
The conventual buildings in part remain on the south of the tower, built up into a farmhouse. And, says the Archdeacon, "an apartment on the first floor is not unworthy of notice, as the frieze is ornamented with thirty devices, and emblazoned coats of arms, several of which probably belonged to the founders and benefactors of the Priory, or to the proprietors of the castle" (the de Clares, de Burghs, and Mortimers, and after them, Richard, Duke of York).

ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT

[*O.S.B. Alien Priory*

THERE was in all probability a sanctuary of the Archangel (to whom hill-tops were so often consecrated) and some sort of religious community* attached to it here in times long before the Conquest. The singularity of the site would mark it out almost inevitably for such honour. "What spot," says Canon Taylor,† "so worthy to be the site of an earthly fane for one whose warring is in the region above man's head, as the lonely mountain's top? Accordingly the Cornishmen found an house for St. Michael on the Cornish Mount, on Rowtor, on Rame Head, on Penkevil, on Caerhayes, and on the western Carn Brea." And be it noted that St. Michael is one of the very few Biblical personages who receives dedications, either in Cornwall or Brittany; the vast majority are to local saints.

The first charters relating to St. Michael's Mount as a monastery are suspect. They are of Edward the Confessor (between 1050 and 1066) and Robert Count of Mortain (*c.* 1086). But though they have been tampered with, they probably (as Canon Taylor holds) convey substantial truth. Most likely a Celtic religious settlement was converted into a Benedictine priory some years



* St. Keynes was said to have come here as early as the sixth century, and her nephew St. Cadoc, too.
† *Celtic Christianity of Cornwall*, Longmans, 1916.

before the Conquest, and was made a " cell " to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, that wonderful house which occupies a site even more startling than the Cornish one. The Norman Abbey was called S. Michael in Monte Tumba and also St. Michael in Periculo Maris. It commemorated an apparition of the Archangel to St. Aubert, Bishop of Avranches in 710. Both the name of " in Monte Tumba " and the apparition (assigned to 710) were transferred in later times to the Cornish Mount, but without good reason.

Through the medieval period St. Michael's Mount remained an alien Priory. It was finally confiscated by Henry V, with all the rest, and given by his son, Henry VI, to King's College (where at least one roll of accounts relating to the fabric is preserved). In 1462 the College ceded it to Edward IV (under pressure, no doubt), and he gave it to the Brigittine monastery of Syon (Isleworth). Syon held it till the Suppression, when it was valued at £110 a year. For many years it has been the possession and seat of the family of St. Aubyn.

William of Worcester, who was here in 1478, tells us that it was anciently called " the Hore-rok (hoar-rock) in the wodd (wood), and there were both woods and pastures and arable land between the said Mount and the Isles of Scilly, and there were 140 parish churches between the Mount and Scilly, now drowned in the sea." Further on he says that the length of the church of Mount St. Michael is 30 steps, the breadth 12 ; the length of the chapel newly built is 40 feet—that is, 20 steps—and in breadth about 10 steps. Here he reckons a step at 2 feet ; elsewhere the dimensions he gives in " steps " or " gressus " work out, when tested by extant buildings, at about nineteen inches.

The church is an aisleless building with a tower in the centre. The walls may be, in part, of the twelfth century ; the north door is of Richard II's time, and the windows, which include a rose window at each end, are Perpendicular in character. An old cross-head sculptured with the Crucifixion, the Virgin and Child, a king, and a bishop, stands outside the north door. Inside are to be seen some alabaster tablets, three of English work, including a St. John's head surrounded by the Trinity, SS. Christopher, James, Peter, Thomas of Canterbury, and the Virgin and Child. Six others are of Flemish work. There is also a fine metal chandelier, probably Flemish, of the late fifteenth century, and some glass. The Lady Chapel is at the north-east angle of the church, and in the eighteenth century was converted into drawing-rooms.

The tower in the centre has a lantern or beacon-place on the south-west angle, known as St. Michael's Chair (and celebrated by Calverley), though the real St. Michael's Chair was on the rock below :

> " *Where the great vision of the guarded Mount*
> *Looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold.*"

The frater, with fifteenth-century door and fine timber roof, is distinguished by a frieze or cornice " representing, in stucco, the modes of hunting the wild boar, bull, stag, ostridge, fox, hare, and rabbit," which has caused it to be called the Chevy Chase room. This frieze appears to date from 1641. The royal arms in plaster were added in 1660. In the windows is some old foreign glass. Two roundels represent the Blessed and the Lost at the Last Judgment.

STOKE COURCY (or STOGURSEY)

[*O.S.B. Alien*

THIS was an alien Priory (Benedictine) founded in the twelfth century by William de Falaise, who gave it as a cell to the Abbey of Lonlay in Normandy (not far from Domfront). Like other alien priories, it was confiscated by the Crown more than once, finally under Henry V. Henry VI gave it to Eton College; he used much of the alien priories' lands for the good purpose of endowing Eton and King's. Eton College has parted with a good deal of its land here, but still has some, and the patronage of the living.

Here also are the remains of a castle of the de Courcys, from whom the village takes its special name.

The church is for the most part a Norman building, consisting of nave, central tower (oblong in plan), and broad aisled chancel. This was the monks' choir, and has fine Norman arcades to the aisles. The windows are for the most part later insertions. The nave was largely rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

The *Beauties of England and Wales* (1813) tells us that there was in the chancel " an ancient piece of painting of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles. It was so much defaced at the time of opening an entrance under to the vestry-room that it was deemed best to remove it entirely and put a church inscription in the place of it." I suspect that this painting was an important twelfth-century work.

There is a good Norman font, and two interesting monuments in the south aisle with effigies of Verneys. One is of the fourteenth century, in a tunic, the other, in armour, of the fifteenth. On the latter are images of saints ; Antony and Christopher are visible. Some good bench ends of a type familiar in Somerset remain.

The epitaph of Peregrine Palmer (1684) begins in a very arresting way—or is meant to do so :

" SISTE GRADUM, PERIPATETICE,
QUO DEMORTUORUM TUMULOS SUPERBIUS CALCAS
IPSEMET DEMUM CALCANDUS,
EST QUOD TE MORETUR, POSTERIS TRADENDUM."

" Stay that foot, O passer by,
Wherewith thou tramplest, too proudly, on the graves of the dead,
Thyself destined some day to be trampled on in thy turn,
Here is something to give thee pause, something worth handing on to Posterity."

The Priory makes some slight appearance in the early Eton accounts. The late Prior had to be escorted to his monastery in 1444. Some candlesticks were taken over from the church, and Eton bought a Service Book for the parish.

But of the buildings nothing can be said to be visible except the dove cot in the farmyard on the east of the church.

MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY: PRIOR'S HOUSE

Facing page 98

MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY: INTERIOR OF CHURCH FROM EAST

MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY: NAVE—SOUTH AISLE

MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY

MUCH WENLOCK [*Cluniac*

T. MILBURGA, daughter of Merwald (founder of Leominster), was the foundress and patroness of this house. Merwald was converted in 660 by Eadfrid; and about 680 Milburga founded her nunnery and became first Abbess, dying there not late in the eighth century.

The favourite story about her was that when she resided at Stoke St. Milburgh the wild geese did much damage to her crops. She bade them go and never return. Every year, says her *Life*, the miracle is renewed; the geese either refuse to alight on the lands at all, or, if compelled to do so by fatigue, never feed there, however hungry they may be. A very similar story is told of her contemporary and cousin, St. Werburga.

Milburga's Abbey did not survive the Danish raids in the ninth century. There was a refounding, for monks, of which we know little, done by Leofric and Godwin in the Confessor's time, perhaps, and a final founding, as a Cluniac priory, by the same Roger de Montgomery who is responsible for Shrewsbury Abbey. This was in 1080.

Being subject to a foreign monastery, as were all Cluniac houses, this of Wenlock suffered confiscations during our French wars, but in 1395 was "made denizen," in other words, independent of foreign control.

The clear annual value in Henry VIII's reign was £401.

Dr. Cranage, whose full and most satisfactory study of the Priory I follow, thinks he could detect, in 1901, traces of St. Milburga's church, on the site of the central tower of the later one. The principal feature was a wall with an "internal" apse. Of Leofric's church no certain vestige was found; a fairly large apse east of the central tower belonged probably to Roger de Montgomery's time.

As finally enlarged, the present church, as we may call it, was 350 feet long. It had an aisled nave of eight bays, with a north porch; a central tower and transepts, each with three eastern chapels; an aisled choir of seven bays, with a projection northwards at the east end of the north aisle. All this was of the first half of the thirteenth century. A hundred years later an eastern Lady Chapel was added.

Of this structure the chief remains are: (1) a bit of the west front; (2) the three western bays of the south nave aisle; (3) a piece of the north transept; (4) a great deal of the south transept.

Of (1) I have nothing to say; (2) is most remarkable—a unique arrangement to provide a chamber over the aisle. The upper part of the main arches is blocked, low open arches being left on the ground level; a low vaulted roof runs over the aisle. The chamber, the use of which is quite uncertain, is approached from the south-west, and has windows looking south.

(3) The north transept. The west wall has three large arches in its west face, forming recesses. These constituted the east side of a vaulted chapel standing over a crypt—the chapel of the charnel house.

(4) The south transept, remaining to a height of 70 feet, is "excelled by few medieval buildings." The builders of it were rather hampered by being unable to trespass on the (Norman) chapter house, of which the north wall is, in fact, the south wall of the transept. The three lancet arches in the lower part of the west wall are the remains of a lavatory to be used in connection with the church offices.

We pass to the cloister and its buildings, on the south. The western entrance from the church remains, the other is gone.

East range. In the outside of the west wall of the transept is a chamber of three bays which it seems agreed was the library. I may say in passing that very few books now existing can to my knowledge be traced to Wenlock.

We next come to the three arches of the entrance to the chapter house—Norman work with very fine detail. The roof of the chapter house is gone, and most of the east wall, which probably had three single-light windows. In the south-east corner is a door—a most unusual feature in that position: it has a lintel carved with dragons. Next to the chapter house is the Norman infirmary hall, not accessible to visitors; the whole of it stands farther to the east than the chapter house.

Running southward from the chapter house, and trespassing farther than the cloister quadrangle, was the dorter range. The dorter on the upper floor ran over the whole of the east range. Behind it (to the east) was a second court.

Returning to the cloister court proper, we see on the *south* side the remains of the frater, which measured 100 feet by 30 feet. It is not parallel with the church; the axis inclines to the south. Near the west end is a fine doorway.

In the south-west corner of the cloister court stood the lavatory, not, as usual, a recess in the cloister wall containing a trough, but a beautiful octagonal structure with a double row of slender columns round it. It is earlier than the present frater, of late twelfth century. On the walls of the laver, part of which remain, are two interesting sculptured panels; one represents the call of the Apostles who were summoned from their fishing. Above, on the left, are two men in a boat, one with steering paddle, the other beardless (John); below, another boat with two more men; one has a paddle; Christ, on right, takes the hand of the other, who is bearded. The other panel has two single figures. The one on left has his left elbow resting in his right hand and his left hand to his face; the other, bearded, with a book, looks to the left.

Similar lavatories have been found at Mellifont (Ireland), St. Nicholas, Exeter, and elsewhere.

The *west range* had several chambers on the ground floor; at its south end was the kitchen, adjoining the frater, as usual.

The second court mentioned just now lies to the east of the east end of the frater. It will not be described in detail here, for the greater part of the remaining buildings are a private house, inhabited continuously since the Dissolution, and naturally not accessible in the ordinary way to visitors. Let it be briefly said that on the north side is the old infirmary hall, on the west was the projecting part of the dorter. The south range, roofless now, was probably part of

the Prior's lodging. The east range, of which Dr. Cranage says that few medieval buildings can rival it in dignity and charm, has at its north end the Infirmary Chapel, and rooms above it. In the angle is a double spiral staircase which gave access both to the lodging of the Master of the Infirmary and to chambers which were an extension of the Prior's lodgings.

These sets of rooms fill the eastern range; a corridor runs along the west side of each floor. The building belongs to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. An admirable description of the internal arrangements will be found in Dr. Cranage's paper in *Archæologia* (vol. lxxii).

At the south-west angle of this second court is the beginning of a fine thirteenth-century hall, that of the Prior.

Little of the outer domestic buildings is left. One plain gate tower of the thirteenth century is passed on the way to the ruins.

I shall purloin one more passage from Dr. Cranage, which he quotes from a species of register kept by Thomas Butler, Vicar of Wenlock from 1524 to about 1562. The book itself perished in one of the fires in which several great Welsh libraries have disappeared in modern times. This was the fire at Wynnstay in 1859. But extracts had been made from it, and this is one which gives a glimpse, such as we seldom get, of the life and personality of an ejected monk. As Dr. Cranage remarks, it also reveals a wonderful character.

"1546. Sir William Corvehill, whoo was excellently and singularly experte in dyverse of the VII liberal sciences an especially in geometre, not greatly by speculacion, but by experience; and few or non of handye crafte but that he had a very gud insight in them, as the making of organs, of a clocke an chimes, an in kerving, in masonrie, and weving of silke, an in peynting; and noe instrumente of musike beying but that he coulde mende it, and many gud ghiftes the man had, and a very pacient man, and full honeste in his conversacion and lyving; borne here in this borowe of Moche Wenlok and sometyme moncke, in the monastri of St. Mylburge here. . . . All this contrey hath a great losse of the death of the said Sir William Corvehill, for he was a gud Bell founder and a maker of the frame for bells."

Wenlock has other attractions. The parish church is well worth a visit; it has some good Norman work. The old Guild Hall, with the court room above, should be also seen. There is some excellent panelling, and there is an unusual set of stocks in good preservation. The seat and the six-holed stocks are on a little platform or lorry on wheels; meant to be paraded round the market place. Similar ones, from Cowbridge in Glamorgan, are in the Cardiff Museum.

MONTACUTE [*Cluniac*

THE name is a Norman substitute for Leodgaresburh, and is derived from the sharp hill, St. Michael's Hill, which dominates the village. On this hill was found in Canute's time, early in the eleventh century, the renowned Cross of Waltham. Tofig, lord of Leodgaresburh, was also lord of lands in Essex.

A smith in the village of Leodgaresburh was thrice warned by our Lord in a vision to dig on the top of St. Michael's Hill. Not till the third bidding did he obey. He took the priest of the place and others with him, and when they dug they found a great stone which split and disclosed a crucifix of black flint; under it were a wooden crucifix, a bell, and an ancient book. Tofig was absent at this time, but he came back, and by the advice of the priest put the flint cross, the bell, and the book on a cart drawn by twelve red oxen and twelve white cows, and named various great English sanctuaries aloud. The animals did not budge until Tofig, in despair, said "Waltham." At once they took the way to Essex and finally stopped at a hunting lodge of Tofig's at Waltham. Here he founded a collegiate church or abbey, which Harold afterwards established as a house of secular canons. "Holy Cross" was the battle cry of Harold's men at Hastings.

This story has nothing to do with Montacute Priory, but it made the place famous, and deserves to be remembered.

The Priory was Cluniac, and was founded in 1102 by William, Count of Mortain in Normandy. When the Count was disgraced and imprisoned for taking part with Robert Curthose against the King, the possessions of the Priory were confiscated and the monks reduced to penury. However, the king finally gave back the lands, and they were increased by later donors till the house became very rich, being valued at the Suppression at £524 gross and £456 clear.

It had been made denizen in 1407.

We do not know much about the buildings. The only one that remains is the very fine gate house, of the fifteenth century; it serves as a dwelling-house now, and there is some extent of building on either side of the actual entrance gateway which has good vaulting.

In the rough field behind it were the main buildings. I do not know of any excavation that has thrown light on the plan. A dove cot—no doubt on the old site, and itself of some age—is towards the east.

The parish church stands close by, and is worth looking at both outside, its tower especially, and inside. There is a Norman arch-head in the north wall of the nave, a Norman chancel arch, and (an interesting feature), in a niche in the north wall of the chancel, an abbreviation of the Ten Commandments in English, which, like some English texts in panels behind the altar, dates from 1543. There are also good tombs of the Phelipses in a north transept.

MUCH WENLOCK ABBEY: CHAPTER HOUSE—NORMAN WORK

Facing page 102

MONTACUTE ABBEY

BASINGWERK: WEST WALL OF REFECTORY

BASINGWERK

NEATH

[*Cistercian*

"IT seemed to me the fairest abbey in all Wales," says Leland, about 1540; but I do not think it would be so classed now. Already in 1815 "the dusky tinge which has been communicated to the ruins by the smoke of the neighbouring copper works has greatly injured its picturesque beauty," and in 1854 George Borrow (see *Wild Wales*, chapter 102) is a good deal less complimentary, even speaking of hell as likely to furnish a good parallel to the surroundings.

It was founded in 1111 as a house of the Order of Savigny (of which something will be said under the head of Buildwas) by Richard de Granville and Constance his wife. Like the rest of the Savigniac houses, it became Cistercian very soon.

Walter Map, writing late in the twelfth century a fierce invective against the Cistercians, has a hit at Neath: "Nor need we tell how at Neath the monks were found to have had a conveyance from William Earl of Gloucester of sixteen acres, which number, after the delivery of the deed, they had increased to one hundred." Neither the gift nor the fraud is mentioned by anyone else.

At Neath Edward II and the younger Despenser took refuge on their flight from Bristol in 1326, just before the final capture.

A Welsh bard, Lewis Morganwg, of the period just before the Dissolution, is quoted by the local historians as describing the splendours of Neath, its lead-covered roofs, painted windows, emblazoned ceiling, and gilded tabernacle-work, but I know not what confidence can be placed in his rather vague rhapsodies. Here, as at Valle Crucis, Cistercian austerity would seem not to have stood the test of time.

At the Suppression, the income of the house was £132 clear. At that moment there were but eight monks.

In 1815 the ruins are thus described: "The walls of the Priory House are nearly entire, but the abbey church exhibits at present little more than a heap of ruins. The great western window fell down within these few years, and a large part of the side walls have since shared its fate. The church appears to have been paved with glazed earthen tiles, very richly ornamented, fragments of which are occasionally discovered." [Several patches of very fine heraldic tiles are to be seen.] "There is still standing, in a tolerable state of preservation, a long room with a double-vaulted ceiling, supported by diagonal arches which rise from the side walls, and from a row of round columns extending along the middle of the apartment through its whole length. The construction of this building is singular and curious. Various uses have been assigned to it, but there can be little doubt of its having been the Chapter House of the abbey." [It seems really to be the undercroft of the dorter.] "Only a few years ago several arches, forming probably the grand entrance into the abbey court, were standing here, and stretched across the present turnpike road."

The plan of the church is, in fact, traceable. It was 215 feet long, cruciform, with a nave of six bays and a choir of four, and the transepts had each two chapels. Two western towers are also mentioned, but such a feature is not by any means usual in Cistercian churches. A central tower there was.

The monastic buildings were on the south. The sacristy opens out of the transept. The vaulted chamber mentioned above runs north and south.

The buildings have been greatly altered by the conversion into a mansion in the seventeenth century; there are many late windows. At the south-west is a thirteenth-century building of which the use is unknown to me.

Neath Abbey

BASINGWERK [*Cistercian*

THE Abbey of St. Mary here is a mile or so from Holywell, on fairly high ground very near the sea. Two dates of foundation and two founders are named: Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1131, Henry the Second in 1155–60. The former is probably the actual beginner of the work; the King may have increased the endowment. The house was long subject to Buildwas; its clear annual value at the Suppression was £150; one of its possessions was Glossop in Derbyshire.

When I visited the site, excavations were in progress which should throw more light on the remains, but I have not seen any account of the results achieved.

Of the church, not much is now left, but a view, drawn by one of the brothers Buck early in the eighteenth century, shows that a considerable portion then had a roof.

There is now a bit of the west end, bases of columns in the outer nave, the lower part of the south aisle wall. The remaining pier of the crossing seems too slight to have supported a central tower. The transepts had two chapels apiece; the choir was aisleless. South of the south transept is the narrow sacristy, and then the vestibule of the chapter house with two entrance arches; farther south the parlour and day-room; the dorter ran over the range.

On the south side of the cloister the frater projects southward. It is the best preserved of the buildings. The western wall has fine internal arcading of the thirteenth century. The passage to the reader's pulpit in the thickness of the wall can be seen. East of it was the kitchen. West of it only floors of chambers remain.

It is said that some portions of the fittings of the abbey church exist in various places to which they were removed at the Dissolution; viz. a fine timber roof at Cilcain, some glass at Llanasa, and some carved woodwork at St. Mary-at-Hill, Chester.

Probably most visitors to the region will have been attracted thither by the fame of Holywell. Certainly the Well of St. Winifred is not a place to be missed. The chapel and the structure below it, with their rich late carving—badges of Stanleys, and of Henry VII and his mother (who built it), and friezes of little animals, such as we see on Mold church—are most unusual. But the spring itself, "the most copious in Britain," welling up at the rate of two thousand gallons a minute, is to my mind one of the most beautiful things that can be seen anywhere.

MUST seem to everyone who visits it the ideal of a monastic ruin. So much has been written about its beauties that I shall do well to leave the pictures, and, better, the place itself, to make their own impression. It is a lovely thing, especially, I think, when you see from above the great cross-church set in the Vale, and guess at the river running close by it.

The reason why it is comparatively so complete is, I suppose, that it was a Cistercian house; being Cistercian, it was set in a remote place; being remote, and on a river not very easy to navigate, the buildings were not used as a general quarry for the neighbourhood. Thus it contrived to survive until the end of the eighteenth century, and by that time there were people who were beginning to take an interest in the picturesque. The Dukes of Beaufort, who owned it, railed it in and cleared the interior of weeds; every traveller who came that way was fascinated, and a public opinion grew up that Tintern was a thing to be admired and taken care of. The current ideas about the proper means of preservation were not those of the present day. "Nature," writes Archdeacon Coxe in 1801, "has added her ornaments to the decorations of art; some of the windows are wholly obscured, others partially shaded with tufts of ivy, or edged with lighter foliage; the tendrils creep along the walls, wind round the pillars, wreath the capitals, or hanging down in clusters obscure the space beneath. . . . Ornamental fragments of the roof, remains of cornices and columns, rich pieces of sculpture, sepulchral stones, and mutilated figures of monks and heroes, whose ashes repose within these walls, are scattered on the greensward, and contrast present desolation with former splendour."

Nothing could be more elegantly expressed; but the Board of Works, in whose hands the buildings now are, will have none of your ivy, nor permit interesting sculptures (of which, after all, there are not many) to lie about the greensward; and quite rightly. It is a pleasure to see all that has been done by their skill to preserve and interpret the ruins.

Tintern's story is chiefly the story of the buildings. Its first founder was Walter FitzRichard, lord of Lower Gwent and of Striguil (or Chepstow), who established the Abbey on a modest scale on May 9, 1131.

About 1220 a scheme of enlargement was taken in hand. The monastic buildings were first dealt with, then the church was begun on a site south and east of the old one, which continued in use until so much of the new one was finished that the offices could be celebrated in it. Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, is credited with the building of the church; he succeeded to the earldom in 1270. William of Worcester (about 1480) notes, on the authority of a Tintern calendar, that the convent celebrated Mass in the new choir in 1288, having been able in the previous year to use the church to some extent. The work of building the nave went on apparently till about 1320. According to Mr. Brakspear (whose

TINTERN ABBEY: NORTH TRANSEPT

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TINTERN ABBEY: NAVE, LOOKING WEST

TINTERN ABBEY: INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST

TINTERN ABBEY

Guide should be by all means bought and studied on the spot), the infirmary was built at the same time as the nave, and the last thing done before the Dissolution was the beginning of a new cloister, which never was finished. The annual value at the Suppression is given as £256 gross and £192 clear.

The western range of the cloister, by which the visitor enters, was built for the use of the lay-brothers. They had (we shall see elsewhere) part of the church for themselves, and their own frater and dorter. But there were no more lay-brothers after some time in the fourteenth century, and their buildings were turned to other uses. The foundations of their dorter here run northward for some distance. In this range is the outer parlour, where the monks met and conferred with visitors.

We will notice the rest of the cloister buildings later and go at once to the church. The west front is the chief external feature to be noticed. A porch was added here in the fifteenth century, but is gone. The head of the door with its blank quatrefoil, where no doubt was an image of the Virgin, is very beautiful; and so is the great window above, in which the tracery is wonderfully complete. All the four gables of the church are left, and each has a window above the principal window, to light the space between the vaulting and the outer roof. The tracery of these is gone.

Entrance to Reader's Pulpit in Frater

The nave is of six bays. There were screen walls shutting off the aisles; but one bay on the north-west had no screen, and there were other openings at the east. The lay-brothers' choir was in the westerly bays of the centre aisle. After five bays, counting from the west, you came to the solid choir screen, east of which, and under the crossing, was the monks' choir, with screens almost cutting off the transepts.

The columns and wall of the north aisle are mostly gone, and this is the worst loss that has befallen the structure.

There is no triforium, but a large clerestory.

At the north-west angle is a skew passage leading to the quarters of the lay-brothers, and at the east end of the north aisle, the one large door into the cloister.

So much for the nave. Over the crossing was some sort of belfry, but no large tower, Cistercian simplicity forbade this in early times, but the rule was not always kept.

The structural choir, or presbytery, is of four bays. The great east window, sixty feet high, has kept its central mullion and fragments of its beautiful tracery. William of Worcester (who has made a great many notes and measurements of Tintern) says that it contained eight panes or lights, glazed with the arms of Roger Bigod, the founder. The clerestory or "overhistory," as he calls it, has two-light windows "according to the proportion but not the size" of the windows of Westminster Abbey.

A doorway at the west end of the north choir aisle gave access from the infirmary (a little way off) to the church.

The transepts each project for two bays beyond the line of the aisles. These contain eastern chapels. The great window of the south transept has lost its tracery; below it is a door. In the south-west corner is a spiral staircase.

The north transept has kept the tracery of its great window, the lower part of which is built up solid because the dorter abuts on it outside. The night stairs and door are below it, and, on the ground floor, the door leading to the vestry. The building of the transept was somewhat complicated by the fact that the older church stood on the site of it. With the exception of the north-west angle (where the lower part of the walls is the twelfth-century angle of the transept of the old church), the work is later than 1288.

We now go into the cloister garth, which is on the north. The line of the fifteenth-century cloister (see above) and also the line of the north wall of the old church are to be seen a few feet north of the present aisle wall, and that is all that need be said of the south side of the court.

The *east range* has first a couple of old lockers for books in the wall; one is built up. The first three bays of this walk of the cloister were vaulted in the fifteenth century, but apparently no more.

Cloister Door from Day Stair

Next we come to a room divided into two parts. The western was a book room, the eastern, entered from the transept, the vestry. In the vestry are stored fragments of sculpture, one of which is the reputed effigy of Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, who did so much in Ireland. It used to be said that the right hand had *five* fingers and a thumb.

The next room, 55 feet by 28 feet, was the (much ruined) chapter house; two rows of columns supported the vaulting. The narrow parlour comes next, then a passage leading to the infirmary. Here we reach the joining of the east and north ranges, but the east range runs back farther, behind the north; following it, we come first to a narrow room, then to a long building with five columns. It is pronounced by Mr. Brakspear to be the novices' lodging.

Over the whole of this, right up to the church, ran the monks' dorter; the rere-dorter, of which little is left, projected at right angles, eastward, near the north end.

A passage leading to the infirmary was mentioned just now. That building stood some little way apart; nothing but foundations remains of the great hall, but some part of the south wall is there. Returning to the north range of the cloister garth we find a rather well preserved piece of building in three storeys. On the ground floor are (1) a passage leading north; (2) the warming house or calefactory—the fireplace at the north end had a passage on each side of it; (3) a small vaulted chamber from which the frater could be entered; a storehouse of some kind. The first floor, in two divisions, may have been the Prior's lodging (the Prior being second in command). The top storey was added in the sixteenth century.

Service Hatch

The frater comes next. On either side of the entrance door are or were the recesses for the lavatory trough; the towels hung over them. The frater now projects northward from the cloister, but the earlier one—much smaller—lay along it, parallel with the church. The latter is the Benedictine plan, the former the Cistercian.

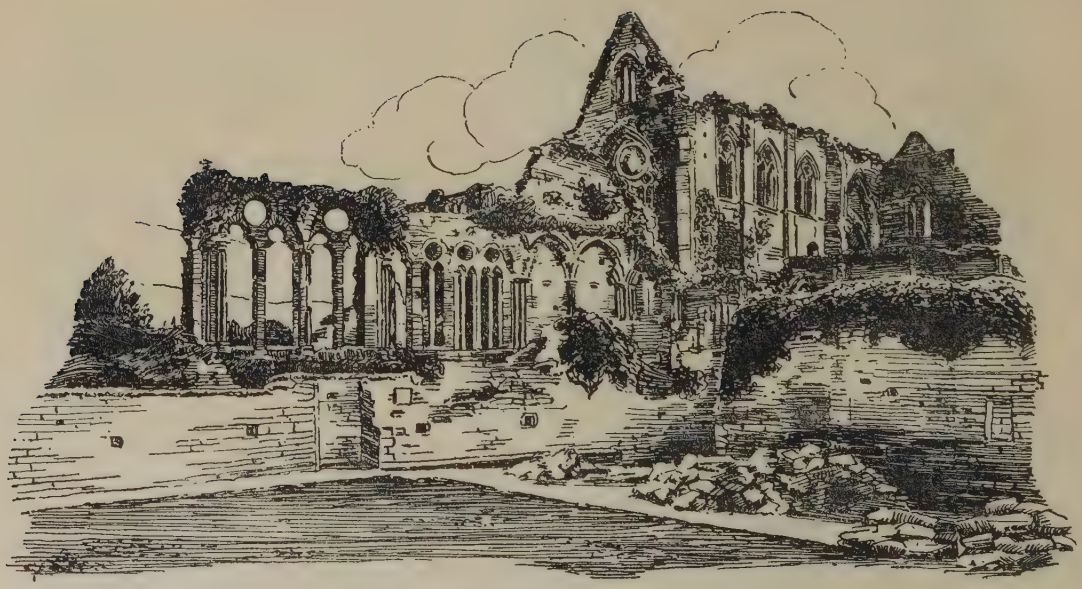
Just within the entrance, on the right is a double recess for (1) washing spoons and (2) locking them up. On the left is the serving-hatch from the kitchen; and farther along is the access to the reader's pulpit. There are fine remains of the windows on the east side.

Going westwards we next

have—separated from the frater by a serving-room—the kitchen, in a very imperfect condition. It had a door into the cloister.

We have now reached the north-west angle of the cloister, and something has been said already about the west range.

The precinct wall of the Abbey is to be seen on the south and west. Within it, and west of the church, some ruins of guest houses and other buildings await further excavation.



View of Frater and North Transept

TINTERN ABBEY: CLOISTER COURT LOOKING NORTH

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BUILDWAS ABBEY

BUILDWAS ABBEY

BUILDWAS: CHAPTER HOUSE

BUILDWAS

[*Cistercian*

THIS house, originally of the Order of Savigny and later on Cistercian, was founded in 1135 by Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The Order of Savigny was an offshoot of the same movement, the same desire for stricter rule and simpler life, which produced the Cistercian Order. Vitalis of Savigny, near Mortain in Normandy, established it in 1112. Furness and Buildwas were affiliated to it; it was absorbed into the Cistercian Order in 1147 or 1148.

The dedication of Buildwas was to St. Mary and St. Chad. For a long time two important monasteries were subject to it, Basingwerk in Flint, and St. Mary's, Dublin. At the Suppression its annual value was about £150. It was granted to Edward Grey, Lord Powis.

The principal remains are the shell of the church, the east range of the cloister, and the Abbot's house. The entrance hall has old floor tiles, the dining-room a fine Tudor ceiling; the chapel and gallery also survive.

The church is 162 feet long. It consisted of a nave of seven bays, central tower, transepts with two chapels in each, and choir.

The nave had no west door. The screen walls which shut off the aisles have left traces on the pillars. The aisle walls have disappeared. Going east, the site of the pulpitum can be traced by the broken inner surface (towards the nave) of the columns. There is evidence, says Sir William Hope, that a pair of organs ["an organ" is the modern phrase] stood in the loft of the pulpitum; and there seems also to have been a second pair of organs in a western gallery.

The nave had no triforium, but a simple clerestory of single round-headed lights. The main arches are slightly pointed. The transepts are much ruined, but we can trace the chapels, which were separated by a wall, and retain their vaulting in some cases. The choir has at the east end a triplet of tall round-headed windows, originally in two tiers; later they were made into one. On the south are the sedilia in a triplet of pure Early English style.

The monastic buildings were on the north. A chamber on a lower level is entered from the north transept; it is in the usual position of the sacristy. Next comes the passage called the slype, complete, then the chapter house, also complete with its entrance (central door and opening on each side); it is vaulted in nine compartments. Beyond it is another passage with a Norman door at the east end. Over this range was the dorter.

Traces of the frater are on the north side.

Buildwas is one of the most picturesque of ruins. But it would be better for the removal of ivy and elder bushes.

This Abbey had a very respectable library. I have encountered a considerable number of books from it, at Cambridge (Trinity College), Lambeth, and elsewhere.

THIS, by the kindness of the owners may be visited on Wednesdays, and is, like Lacock, a wonderful example of monastic buildings turned into a stately dwelling-house; but it is not so complete, perhaps, as Lacock. The history of the Abbey, or rather of its founders, is told at very great length in a fourteenth-century narrative, printed in the *Monasticon*. There are in it some picturesque passages, the best of which shall be given:

"Baldwin de Brioniis, a distinguished Norman Knight, married Albreda, niece to the Conqueror, and by her had two children, Richard and Adelicia. The Conqueror gave to Richard the honour of Okehampton, and the wardship of all Devon, and in 1133 Richard, a devout man, applied to the Abbot of Waverley (the first Cistercian house founded in England) for a colony of monks to settle on his lands at Brightley in the domain of Okehampton. In 1136 twelve of them came, the necessary buildings having been meanwhile put up. Next year Richard died without sons, and his estates went to his sister. For five years the monks stayed at Brightley; but the district was barren, they were poor, and at last they decided that they must go back to Waverley. They set out, two and two, in procession, headed by the Cross; as they were passing through Thorncomb, Countess Adelicia saw them and inquired who they were. When she heard their story she said 'God forbid, holy fathers, that the reproach should fall on me that what my brother Richard began with such devout purpose in God's honour, I his sister and heir should be slow to finish. This manor of mine where we now are is a fertile one; I give it to you, with my mansion, in exchange for Brightley.' The monks gladly closed with the offer and settled in the manor of Ford or Westford, and built their monastery in a spot formerly called Hartescath."

The honour of Okehampton came after this into the Courtenay family, and they were long patrons of Ford. Lord John de Courtenay, who died in 1273, was particularly bountiful to the Abbey, and of him this story is told:

"When he was crossing to England from France, a great storm came on; it was night, and the sailors gave up all hope. 'Do not lose heart,' said Lord John; 'do your best for just an hour more. Then will be the time when my monks at Ford will be getting up for the office, and praying for me, and their prayers will prevail against any storm.'

"'How can you say so?' said one of the company; 'you may be sure they are all sound asleep.'

"'Many of them may be,' said Courtenay, 'but I am sure that most of them will be praying to God for me; I have done my best for them, and they are very fond of me, and I of them.'

"'What nonsense you talk,' said the captain; 'your end is at hand, and you had better confess to each other and commend your souls to God'—and he and all on board cast themselves down on the deck in utter despair.

FORD ABBEY

Facing page 112

FORD ABBEY: MONKS' WALK

FORD ABBEY: MONKS' WALK

FORD ABBEY

Courtenay struck his hands together and said to God: 'Almighty and merciful God, deign to hear the holy monks who are now praying for me, and my prayers too, and in Thy pity bring us safe to the haven where we would be.' And at the words, God, Who delights in simplicity, succoured this man, who, though he was a mighty lord, was faithful and simple of heart, and the storm fell and they came safe to land."

About the time of John de Courtenay, Ford had a somewhat unusual Abbot —William of Crewkerne, who excommunicated the Bishop of Exeter (presumably for encroaching on the rights of his Abbey, which was exempt); the Bishop not unnaturally excommunicated the Abbot. The quarrel was decided in 1277, on the whole in favour of the Bishop.

The last Abbot, Thomas Chard, was the builder of the most sumptuous part of the Abbey as it stands now. Probably, foreseeing the Dissolution, he was determined to lock up as much of the ready money of the convent in building as he could. At Fountains something of the same sort was done.

The value at the Suppression was £373 clear.

The succession of families, through which the site and buildings have descended till 1847, was Pollard, Paulet, Roswell, Prideaux, and Gwyn.

Of the buildings, the church is wholly gone; the site was on the lawn in front of the house. The cloister buildings were on the north. Of these the west range is also wholly gone and of the east range only the chapter house remains. As you stand in front of the house, this is the projecting block on your right. Then comes the fragment of the cloister (north walk), then a block of Inigo Jones's work, with a porch [he was called in to improve the house for Attorney-General Sir Edmund Prideaux in 1654]—then a porch-tower of Abbot Chard's time, then four great windows belonging to Abbot Chard's new hall, and lastly another projecting block of Inigo Jones's work.

In taking stock of the extant monastic remains, which are my main concern, it will be well to begin from the east.

The chapter house is the earliest thing left. It is of late, even transition, Norman date, and consists of two finely vaulted bays. The east window is of the fifteenth century. It is used as the chapel of the house.

Next, the north walk of the cloister, of Abbot Chard's building; it is on the old site, as is shown by the remains of a twelfth-century lavatory found under the new facing. It is excellent late Perpendicular work; glazed and long used as a conservatory. More modern rooms divide this bit of cloister from Chard's porch-tower, which has his crosier and arms under the oriel window. He was titular bishop of Selymbria in Thrace—Solubricensis was his signature. This tower admitted to the great hall, an extraordinarily fine room of five bays with an original painted roof. It stands east and west, not in the proper position for a Cistercian frater. The original frater, we shall see, did not. This new frater cannot have been in use many years before the Dissolution. We do not see the whole length of it; a portion at the west end was divided into rooms by Inigo Jones. High up in the original end wall (in a bedroom) are Chard's arms in mutilated relief. There is a projection northward

at the west end, now cut up into bathrooms, etc., which retains old windows. The main windows of this hall on the north side are blocked.

Returning to the cloister proper, we find projecting from it northwards the old frater, divided by a floor, which seems original, or at least quite old. The tradition is that meat was served in the upper chamber and not in the lower, which may mean that the upper floor was the misericorde, the place in which those monks who required a generous diet had their meals.

Farther east, running back from the chapter house, is the dorter, very well preserved in a great part of its length. The lower storey is an undercroft divided into kitchens and other offices. The upper is also vaulted ; a modern partition runs down it, cutting off half the breadth into a series of bedrooms. The windows are plain lancets, and the building is of the thirteenth century. Traces of the night stairs are at the south end.

Of the state rooms made by Inigo Jones, the splendid staircase, the tapestries, and other interesting fittings of post-monastic date, it is not my place to speak.

MEREVALE: CHAPEL FROM SOUTH

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MEREVALE CHAPEL

R Mira Vallis. This is an example of the pretty names which the Cistercians liked to give to their houses. Walter Map (in the twelfth century), who hated this Order, laughs at them for this custom; he quotes Casa Dei, Vallis Dei, Portus Salutis, Mira Vallis, and others.

Merevale is just outside Atherstone, and is, as it long has been, the domain of the Dugdales. Robert, Earl Ferrers, in 1148 founded a Cistercian Abbey here and colonised it with monks from Bordesley. Its possessions increased quite largely in the next centuries. At the Suppression the annual value was £254. The Abbot and nine monks were pensioned.

The principal relic of this establishment is the *capella ad portas*, unusually large, perhaps because it possessed an image of the Virgin which was the object of pilgrimage. This stands farther away from Atherstone than the rest of the Abbey, and is used as a parish church. It is shown on application at the gate house. It has three aisles of equal length and a western portion; work of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is to be seen. At the west end is a stately wooden gallery said to have been an organ loft in the Abbey church. Some of the tombs and the old glass are likewise supposed to have come from thence.

The glass is noteworthy. In a south window is a fine foreign piece: a bishop in mitre and cope over plate armour. In the tracery lights of the east window is fifteenth-century glass, including an Annunciation. In the lower lights an excellent Jesse-tree (fourteenth century) much restored. The figures are, in the lowest row, Roboam, Manasses, Isaina (*sic*), Joram, Asa. Next, Malachi, David, Solomon, Ezechias, Moyses; at top Sophonias, a king, Christ (not belonging here: He is represented as the Judge, showing His Wounds), Jonas, Ysaias.

In a north window is the Assumption of the Virgin (she is headless); four out of six angels surrounding her remain. In the tracery are late figures of Apostles, and there is a roundel of foreign glass.

The next window has in the tracery St. Anne, a bishop, and the Annunciation. Below are fragments, one of the Lamb with cross-banner *between* the leaves of an open book.

The remains of the conventual buildings are in a field lower down. The church is gone, but for foundations which were laid bare in 1849. It was cruciform, with aisled nave and short choir. The cloister buildings were on the south side. A considerable length of wall remains, attached to a farm-house. The frater, which here was parallel with the church (not, as in most Cistercian houses, at right angles to it), shows the access to the reader's pulpit. The chapter house entrance is also visible.

ABBEY DORE [*Cistercian*

ALLED after the River Dwr, is one of the most surprising and delightful of all the places I have to write about. Its documentary history is brief. It was founded in 1147 as a Cistercian Abbey by Robert of Ewyas, a grandson of William I.

In 1260 Peter of Aigueblanche, Bishop of Hereford, granted an indulgence to those who would contribute to the completion of the church. In the time of his successor, Bishop St. Thomas Cantilupe (1275–82), a consecration of the church took place.

The value at the Suppression was just over £100 a year.

One could not expect to know much about the domestic history of this remote Abbey, save by accident. But it so happens that Giraldus Cambrensis, who knew the district, and, like his friend, Walter Map, hated the Cistercians, tells us several stories to the discredit of Abbot Adam of Dore, whom he accuses of obtaining lands from the King in fraudulent ways. Another accident has preserved the pencil draft of a letter (written on the margin of a manuscript at Peterhouse, Cambridge) from the Precentor of Hereford to an Abbot (Henry) of Dore. It offers him a good palfrey to induce him to take care that the late Abbot, Stephen, now confined in the monastery, should not receive ill-treatment. We do not know, I think, from other sources, about the deposition of Stephen, who seems to have been elected in 1257, and his successor in 1263.

The site and buildings were granted to John Scudamore; a descendant, John, Viscount Scudamore, is the memorable name for us in connection with Dore. He was an enthusiastic churchman of the Laudian type. Laud induced him to give up the tithes which he held of the Abbey's property, and he himself in 1633 restored the transepts and choir of the Abbey church, beautified it, and gave it for the use of the parish. Whether he built the tower in the angle of the south transept, or whether that is in part pre-Dissolution work, is not agreed. Most attribute it to Scudamore. In any case, what he did here has deserved our respect and gratitude. His restored church was reconsecrated on Palm Sunday (March 30), 1634.

A more recent, and very careful, restoration was finished in 1903.

We have at Dore the transepts and aisled choir of a fine, pure, severe, Cistercian church, wholly of thirteenth-century work; only tower and porch are later. But alterations were made during the thirteenth century.

The original church had a long nave with narrow aisles, divided in many places by screens; the transepts had each *two* eastern chapels; the presbytery had no aisles.

When enlargement was decided upon, the east wall of the inner chapel in each transept was done away and an aisle was carried along both sides and across the east end, and the east walk of it was made to accommodate five altars. At the same time the arches were made in the side walls and east wall of the original presbytery. Such is the arrangement that we now see.

MEREVALE: RUINS

Facing page 116

MEREVALE: RUINS

Going back to the demolished nave, of which the site is in the churchyard, we learn from Mr. Roland Paul's excellent account that from west wall to transept it had nine bays; four clear bays from the west were the lay-brothers' choir with altar; next came retro-choir, screened off from the aisles and covered by the loft, bounded on east by the pulpitum, a very solid screen. Then the monks' choir, occupying two bays of the structural nave, and extending under the crossing.

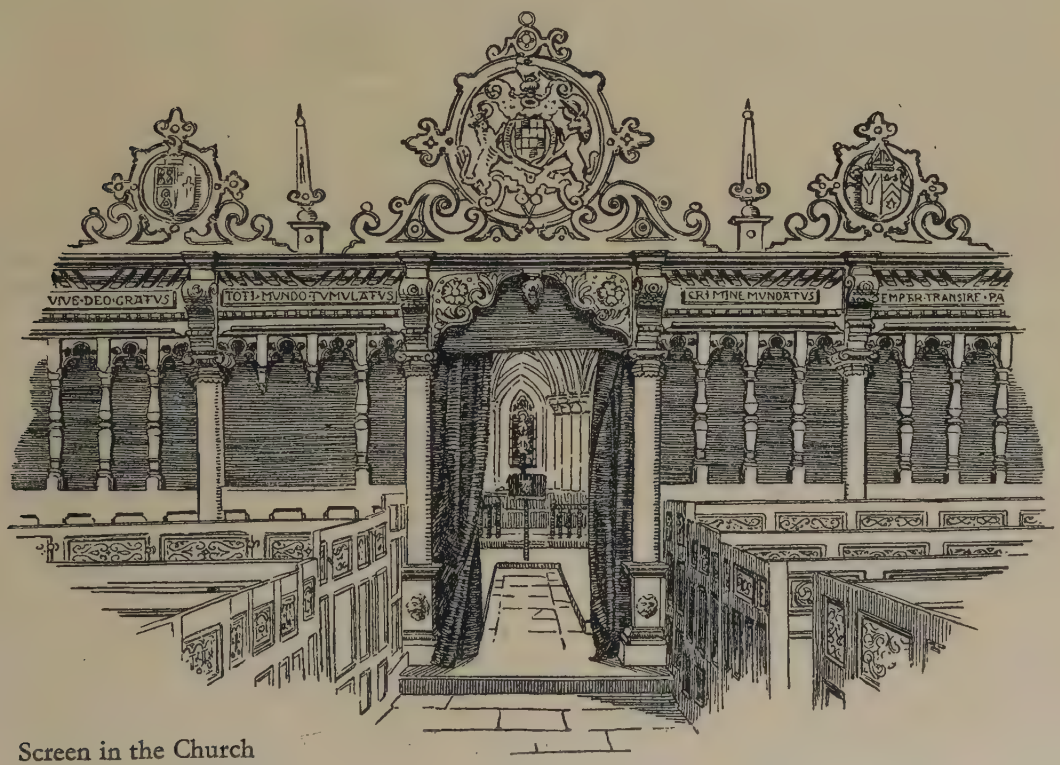
Remains of screen walls dividing nave from aisles were found in two bays on the north side.

The western arch of the crossing is built up.

Now we will enter the church by the south door. The south transept, where we now find ourselves, had a screen across its southern part.

In the north transept is a lower door leading to the sacristy, and an upper one, to the dorter, which was reached by the night stairs in the north-west corner. The structural choir was of three bays, and the total length of the church 238 feet.

The process of vaulting the roof in stone went on for a long time, probably into the fourteenth century; only the aisles and chapels retain their vaulting now. Some fine sculptured bosses have been found, and may be seen in the north aisle; the Coronation of the Virgin, Christ among foliage, blessing, and a monk kneeling to a bishop, are among them.



Screen in the Church

Of medieval monuments, note two mutilated effigies, assigned to the founder and to Roger de Clifford, and a smaller one, perhaps marking the burial of a heart, conjectured to be that of John le Breton, Bishop of Hereford (1269–75); also some old tiles now arranged near the font.

In the chapel in the south transept are some fragments of old glass—a hand holding an orb, and a bishop's head are among them. The tomb of John Hoskyns of 1630 has a rather interesting epitaph.

Lord Scudamore's work is very interesting. There are: the little western gallery for an organ, and the screen (made by Abell, the architect of the great market houses at Hereford and Leominster). The verses inscribed on it are:

VIVE DEO GRATUS, TOTI MUNDO TUMULATUS,
CRIMINE MUNDATUS, SEMPER TRANSIRE PARATUS.

Also, more uncommon, the stained glass in the three eastern lancets, which is dated 1632. In that on the left are Matthew, Mark, Peter, and Andrew; in the centre, canopy work, two Apostles, and the Ascension; on the right, two more Apostles and the other two Evangelists. The drawing of the figures is absurdly bad, but the colour quite good.

Remains of wall paintings of the same period—a figure of Time and other things—are visible in the transepts.

Dore is the only choir of a Cistercian church now in use in this country.

The monastic buildings were on the north. Mr. Paul has made out that the cloister court was crossed near its western side by a lane. Under the frater and kitchen ran a mill-stream, now diverted.

From the eastern end of the north nave aisle steps led down to the cloister. Attached to the north transept was the sacristy, and in the west wall of it a recess for a book closet. Then came the vestibule of the chapter house, which was at first the chapter house itself. The newer building, standing a little east, was twelve-sided [Margam is the only other instance of this form] and about 43 feet across. The frater, projecting at right angles to the cloister, in the proper Cistercian way, was on the north side of the cloister garth, and the kitchen west of it. But of this nothing is to be seen.

HAILES (Or HAYLES) [*Cistercian*

THIS Cistercian house (accessible from the Winchcombe-Toddington road) is one of the latest foundations we have to deal with. It was founded in 1246 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, and colonised with twenty monks and ten lay-brothers from Beaulieu in the New Forest.

This Richard was the only Englishman who ever occupied the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. He was elected in 1257, and though he was never crowned by the Pope at Rome, he ruled or attempted to rule Germany until his death in 1272. To sketch the course of his very eventful career is out of the question here, but this central fact in it has to be mentioned for a reason we shall find.

The great moment in the history of Hailes was in 1270, when Edmund, son of Richard, gave to it the third part of a relic of the Blood of Christ which he had acquired in Germany; the rest he gave to the College of Bonshommes at Ashridge (Herts.). But the blood of Hailes was what became famous. We shall see the effect of its acquisition on the externals of the monastery shortly. But first I want to dwell a little on the relic itself, for it was the subject of a great deal of talk in the Reformation period.

The picturesque and popular story about it we owe to William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. According to him it was really the blood of a duck (a duck was killed every week by two monks appointed for the purpose) enclosed in a glass which was thick on one side and thin on the other. You paid your money to see it, and if it was thought that more could be got, the thick side of the reliquary was turned towards you, and that was a sign that you were still in deadly sin. Further payments on repeated visits eventually procured you the sight of the Blood, seen clearly through the thin side of the glass.

Unfortunately for the credit of William Thomas (which does not stand very high), we have an original report of certain Commissioners appointed specially to view the relic in October 1539—Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, the Prior of Worcester, the Abbot of Hailes, and another; their decision is that it is "an unctuowse gumme colouryd." Within the glass it resembled partly the colour of blood; taken out, it was of a glistering yellow colour like amber or base gold, and in consistency was like gum or bird-lime.

This agrees with the description afterwards given by Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, at Paul's Cross, that it was honey clarified and coloured with saffron. But the Commissioners say nothing of glass thickened on one side, and their account is otherwise quite incompatible with that of Thomas, and may be trusted.

The Abbot of Hailes, who assisted in this commission, had no doubt been put into the abbacy as one not likely to thwart the intentions of the King. He is accordingly praised by the Suppression Commissioners for being conformable.

The annual value of the Abbey is given as £330. It was granted to Sir Thomas Seymour and then went to the Tracys. A large mansion was built on the site, of which there is a view in Atkyns's *Gloucestershire* (1712). It is quite gone now.

The original church of Hailes had an aisled nave, transepts with three chapels in each, an aisled presbytery or chancel, a procession path round it, and five chapels at the east end. It was dedicated in 1251. After the acquisition of the Holy Blood, and perhaps after a fire, a new east end was begun, and finished by 1277. It consisted of a five-sided apse with five semi-octagonal chapels surrounding it. A procession path was between the apse and the chapels. There is a marked resemblance between this and the work round the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, which is twenty-five years older.

We owe our knowledge of it to Mr. Brakspear, whose plan and account of the church are to be found in the *Archæological Journal* for 1901.

A few more particulars shall be given. The nave was eight bays long. The western part was originally the choir of the lay-brothers. But lay-brothers ceased to exist in England during the fourteenth century, and this part of the church served no special purpose after that.

Going east, you first came to the rood-screen, with an altar before it; behind this was the retro-choir, where invalid monks heard Mass. Then the pulpitum, supported on two screens 6 feet apart. Then the choir, with two rows of stalls and sub-stalls on either side, beneath the crossing. Behind the high altar, almost in the centre of the apse, was the shrine of the relic. Pilgrims entered the church by a door in the north transept. In the thickness of the west wall of the south transept were the night stairs to the dorter.

In order to see what remains of the Abbey the key must be got at the cottage just beyond the little parish church, where is a small museum of relics and a plan of the Abbey. The building is in part medieval.

The ruins are in a field, railed in, and much covered with weeds. The church is gone, except for some bits on south and west. Trees have been planted to show the general outline.

The only remains above ground are parts of the south wall of the nave aisle. At the east end of this is the procession door into the cloister. At the west end is another door of the fifteenth century, inserted, and in the angle is the site of a staircase which once led up to the lay-brothers' dorter. In the aisle wall are three recesses of unequal size, that on the west being the broadest. I do not know if these or some of them contained cupboards for books.

Part of the buildings on the east of the cloister remains—practically confined to the west wall, with half a dozen arches in it. That nearest to the church may have led into the sacristy. The head is cusped. Next, are the three arches of the chapter-house vestibule. Then a trefoiled arch (passage to infirmary?) and lastly a round-headed arch.

On the south side is the wall of the frater with the recess of the lavatory and two doors, the western one having been altered in the fifteenth century.

HEREFORD: ABBEY DORE CHURCH

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HEREFORD: ABBEY DORE CHURCH—AMBULATORY

The west side must originally have contained the lodgings of the lay-brothers, but was later turned into the Abbot's lodging. At the Dissolution this range " from the church to the frayter southward " was spared, and formed part of the later mansion. There is some nice fifteenth-century work here.

But really the best thing at Hailes is the little parish church, though the old books call it " a very small and mean edifice constructed from the ruins of the Abbey before 1603."

It has a western bell-cot which has been very prettily built out behind with timber into a gabled turret. Inside it has been well repaired, not restored. There is a nice screen, and in the east window is old glass representing Apostles and Prophets, with clauses of the Creed and prophecies corresponding thereto. This glass was taken from the Abbot's Chapel, probably, to Toddington House near by, and has been recently given to the church, very generously, by Mr. Andrewes, the owner of Toddington. But the most notable feature of the church are the floor tiles and the mural paintings.

In the splay of the north window of the chancel is a thirteenth-century painting of St. Katherine with cusped nimbus and book, treading on the Emperor Maxentius, and on left a monk with inscribed scroll, almost perished. In the splay of the window opposite is a similar painting of St. Margaret emerging from the back of the dragon, and a monk on right.

At the top of the wall has been a series of figure subjects, very faint now. On the north one can distinguish some trefoil arches, two of which are crossed at bottom by a tomb or altar.

The rest of the walls are diapered with heraldry, on the north in squares, on the south in lozenges. We see the displayed eagle of the Empire (for Richard Plantagenet) and the castles of Castile.

In the spandrels of the windows are dragons.

In the splay of the south door of the chancel are remains of a later painting of the Virgin and the dead Christ (called a *pietà*). An excellent owl is to be seen here too, and angels with censers.

The tiles are very fine. Altogether this is a building not to be missed. The paintings show that it was intimately connected with the Abbey. Was it the *capella ad portas* which the Cistercians often had for the use of strangers? An undoubted example of this is at Merevale.

R Llanegwist, though smaller and less complete than Tintern, is comparable to it in charm of situation and in the impression it makes when first sighted. It is in a very beautiful valley quite near Llangollen. Near it is one of the longest, most interesting, and least legible of the ancient inscriptions of Britain—the pillar of Eliseg, erected to his memory by Concenn or Cyngen, prince of Powis, his great-grandson, who died in 854. The "Chirographum" was cut by Conmarch, and originally extended to more than thirty lines of Latin. The stone was broken by stupid Puritans before it had been copied in full.

The Cistercian Abbey de Valle Crucis was founded in or about 1200 by Madoc of Griffith Maelor, whom I find described as prince of Powis, and as lord of Bromfield. The Rev. J. Evans, author of the relevant volume of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, quotes Guttyn Owain, a bard of the fifteenth century, as "highly commending the hospitality of the abbots; when describing their mode of living, he observes that the table was usually covered with four courses of meat served up in silver dishes, and sparkling claret" [the word "sparkling" has here no technical meaning, I imagine] "was the general beverage." This does not savour of Cistercian austerity, but the fifteenth century was not the twelfth or thirteenth.

At the Suppression the clear annual value of this house was £188.

The remains consist of the church and the east range of the cloister buildings. Whether the farm which stands by the road at the entrance of the Abbey field contains any part of the gate house or *capella ad portas*, or is built on the site thereof, I do not know.

The church consists of an aisled nave, transepts, and aisleless presbytery. The east and west ends and a good deal of the south transept remain.

The western gable has a very beautiful little rose window above the three main lights.

The pulpitum or choir screen may be seen, part of it, as a solid wall, at the west arch of the crossing.

Just east of this are some inscribed and figured tombstones. One has a curious half-length effigy of a lady.

The north transept, which was partially walled off from the church, had two altars and a central column. To its north end a small low building is attached.

The south transept also had two altars; the northern one shows bases of clustered shafts.

The east end has three fine lancets below and two above; the east (outside) face of it shows a noteworthy arrangement of sunk panels. The semblance of a lancet (blank) is produced in the centre of the upper row.

From the south transept the sacristy is entered, and next to it is the chapter house, complete, as rebuilt in the fourteenth century. In the thickness of the

HAILES ABBEY: FROM EAST

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HAILES: PAINTINGS ON SOUTH WALL

front wall two chambers have been contrived; one contains the day stair to the dorter, the other (on the north) is a vaulted book-cupboard.

Beyond this is a vaulted passage with an excellent door set in a later arch.

The upper storey containing the dorter is unusually well preserved. The portion over the chapter house is separated off. At the south end is the rere-dorter. This part of the buildings was for a long time occupied as a farmhouse, and this fact accounts for the later modifications and additions which will be found on the upper floor. A few pieces of inscribed tombstones are to be seen here.

The reader of Borrow will remember the account he gives in *Wild Wales* of his visit to Valle Crucis and the lady caretaker whom he met there; also the somewhat ungenerous emotions which the sight of these and other monastic ruins stirred in him.

IS a wonderful example of a Cistercian house of modest size; the buildings are exceptionally well preserved and most attractive and beautiful in detail. The founder was William de Romare, who in Richard I's time gave his lands at Cleeve to the Abbot and Convent of Revesby (Lincolnshire) in trust to found a Cistercian house at Cleeve. He was nephew to the Earl of Lincoln of the same name.

It is incongruous, when one contemplates this quiet site, to learn that in the troublous years 1400–1 the Abbot of Cleeve and three monks put themselves at the head of an armed band of two hundred men and attacked wayfarers in the neighbourhood.

At the Suppression the income of the house was £155.

A petition of Sir Thomas Arundell, on behalf of the countryside, that the house might be spared, was disregarded. He was Commissioner for Dissolutions in Somerset.

Cleeve stands a short way off the main road in a pleasant valley, Vallis Florida. The first thing we see is the gate house. Only a little fragment of the outer gate, on the road, is left, but this inner gate house is fairly complete. The outer part is of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the inner was built by the last Abbot, whose name, Dovell, is carved on a panel below the window. The outer front has a relief of the Virgin and the Child at the top, the inner a crucifix, and an angel and shield below. The room over the gateway is said to have been used as a guest house. It has a fireplace.

The cloister buildings are partly occupied as a farm, but very well cared for. We enter, naturally, by the west range. This was built for the lay-brothers; their dorter is above and their frater below. There is some late work (fifteenth century) in the latter; whether this range was converted into the Abbot's lodging when lay-brothers ceased to be, I do not know, but that is what happened in other places.

No part of the cloister walks is left, but the height of the roof can be seen on all three sides.

On the north was the church, 170 feet long. The transepts had two chapels apiece, and the choir projected only 15 feet eastward of them.

The east range has on the ground floor (beginning from the north), first the sacristy or vestry, with a large circular window at the east end, which has remains of tracery, and must have been beautiful. This room was entered from the transept. Next is a "library" or strong-room [Cleeve has left nothing in the way of books, so far as I know], then the chapter house.

This has a large entrance arch and a two-light window on each side. The vestibule is vaulted in two bays; passing through it you enter what was once a higher chamber; the east wall is gone, and the roof. Next is the staircase to the dorter, then the slype, with recesses in its walls; last, the parlour.

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY, EAST

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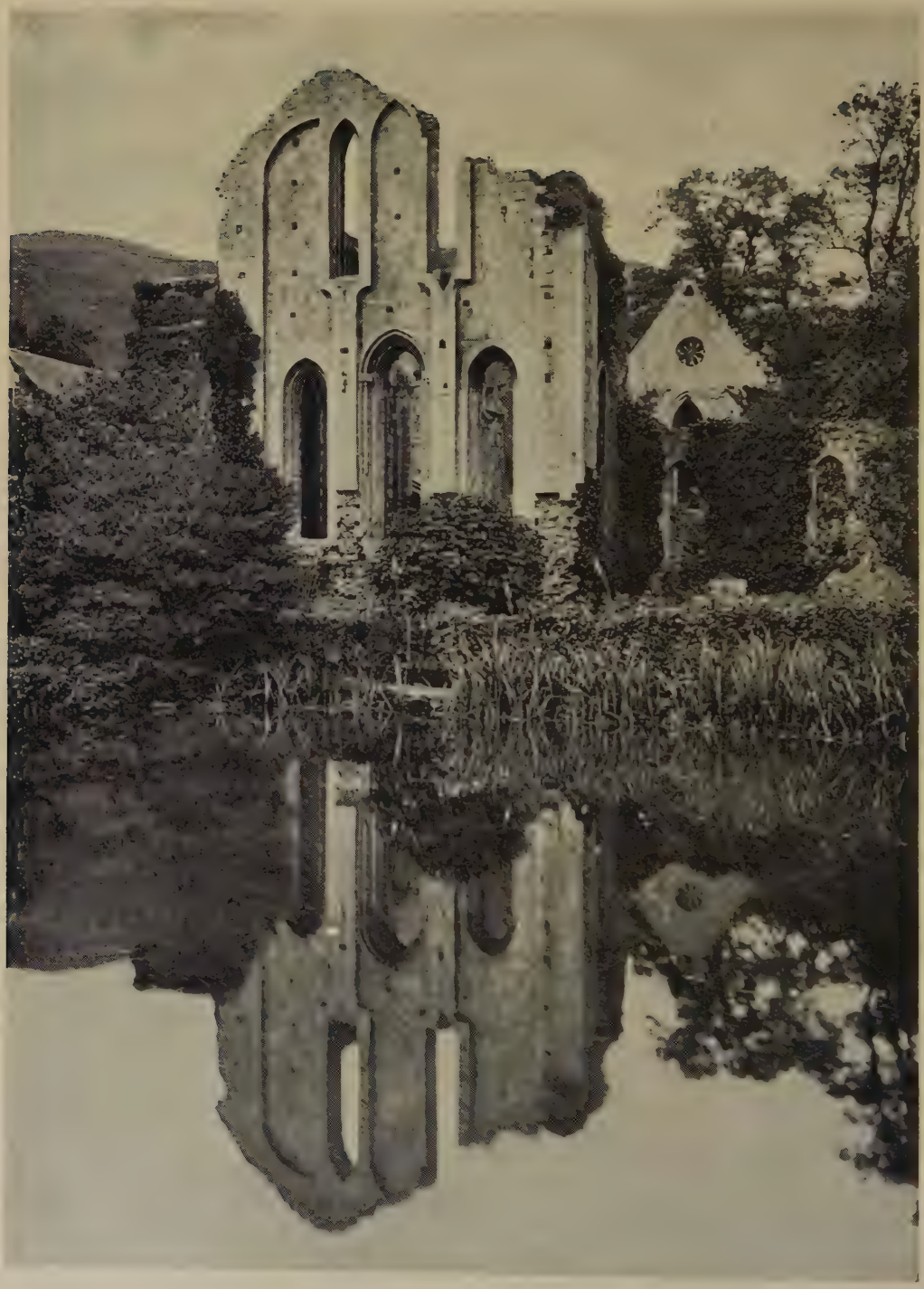

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY: CLOISTER COURT

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY: CHAPTER HOUSE

Above is the dorter, which extends some way south of the south range. The north end has the door for the night stairs leading down into the church. The windows are single lancets, and in the embrasures are seats. Going southward we find a modern wall cutting off the south part; past this wall the floor is gone, but we see that there was a row of columns down the middle. A door high up in the east wall is curious. It is said to have led to the "people's infirmary," but, whether that is so or not, it is clear that it revolved on a central pivot; there is a "stop" on either side at the top of the arch.

The south range is nearly all occupied by the beautiful frater, built in the fifteenth century on the top of a thirteenth-century basement, which was somewhat altered when this was done. At the east end of the ground floor is the calefactory or warming house. This was divided and a garde-robe added (?) during the later building operations. Then, in the wall, is the broad recess for the lavatory trough, then the staircase to the frater.

This frater is a splendid room with a range of five excellent Perpendicular windows on the north; on the south, the second from the east is replaced by a chimney; the fireplace remains within. The original timber roof, very finely carved, is complete. On the east wall is a painting (rather faint) of the Crucifixion. Mary and John are just visible, the principal Figure is clearer; the title is on the Cross. The tile pavement of the eastern portion is original, and has much heraldry—arms of Clare, de Mohun, Beauchamps of Somerset, and others.

At the west end of this beautiful hall is a room with some very remarkable mural paintings (fifteenth century, of course); on left is St. Katherine, life-size, facing right and holding a small wheel; the lower part indistinct.

On right, St. Margaret, facing left, rising out of the back of the dragon (the devil, who attacked her in prison and swallowed her whole, but burst forthwith) and holding a tall cross.

The central and largest composition shows a man with joined hands, seen half-length, standing on a bridge with two arches; on each side of his head an angel flying towards him; below these, on the bridge, a red lion (on left) and a dragon (on right) attack him. The water below the bridge is full of fish. At each end a diagonal red band sloping from left to right; one of these appears to be inscribed. This picture represents, I have no doubt, the temptations or perils of the Christian; the bridge is the short life of man; he may fall from it into the river and be devoured; the lion and dragon are the powers of evil; the angels are there to encourage the man and remind him of what awaits him if he is faithful. It is an allegory, not a scene in the life of any saint.

Passing through this range, to the south, we find the *old* frater, or rather the floor of it. It projected south from the cloister as, in a Cistercian house, it ought to do. [Here and at Ford the Benedictine position was adopted in late times.] It was of small size, and hardly anything of the structure remains, but there is one feature of great interest; that is, the pavement of heraldic tiles. It is kept covered with loose earth, which has preserved the freshness of it wonderfully; in fact it would be hard to find a better example of this form of art. In many places about the buildings other patches of tiles remain.

R Margan, was founded by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, in 1147, the last year of his life. Like all Cistercian houses, it was dedicated to the Virgin.

We have a chronicle written at this Abbey in the thirteenth century (the manuscript of it is at Trinity College, Cambridge), which tells us, under the year 1210, how King John returned from his expedition to Ireland greatly enraged against all houses of the Cistercian Order because they would not grant him all the subsidy that he demanded. He extracted 27,000 marks from the English houses, and only two were exempted, namely, Margam, because he had been well entertained there on his way to and from Ireland, and Beaulieu in Hants, because it was his own foundation.

At the Suppression the clear revenue was £181. The site passed through various hands into those of the Talbots of Lacock.

The church was 272 feet long by 60 feet broad. There was an aisled nave of six bays, transepts with two chapels in each, and a short choir. The greater part of the nave (115 feet long) is left, and serves as the parish church. The west front has a fine central Norman arch, and three Norman windows above. The structure at the north-west corner has been a good deal altered in modern times. The aisles are vaulted. In the east part of the south aisle are the monuments of the Mansell family.

No other nave of a Cistercian church, it seems, is in use as a place of worship in this country.

Of the choir and transepts not much is left; the north transept is wholly gone.

The cloister buildings are on the south. Out of the south transept opens the sacristy. The old plans show traces of a division, in which case we may assume that the western part was used as a book-room. Margam had some good books. Both William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated their very different histories to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the founder; and our best copy of the third revision or edition of Malmesbury's "Deeds of the Kings" belonged to Margam.

The chapter house, next to the sacristy, is the most distinctive relic of the buildings. It was twelve-sided, and 50 feet in diameter. Apparently only here and at Dore did Cistercians adopt the polygonal plan, as opposed to the rectangular, for the chapter house. "An elegant Gothic building," wrote Mr. Wyndham in 1781, "of a date subsequent to that of the church; its vaulted stone roof is perfect, and supported by a clustered column rising from the centre of the floor. The just proportion of the windows, and the delicate ribs of the arches, which all rise from the centre column and the walls, gradually diverging to their respective points above, must please the eye of every spectator, and, what is uncommon in light Gothic edifices, the external elevation is as

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY: CHAPTER HOUSE

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CLEEVE ABBEY: THE REFECTORY

CLEEVE ABBEY: GATEWAY

CLEEVE ABBEY: THE REFECTORY

CLEEVE ABBEY: THE DORTER

CLEEVE ABBEY: THE REFECTORY

Facing page 127

simple and uniform as the internal perspective, there being no projecting buttresses to disturb or obstruct the beauty." This is very well; but hear Dr. Hunt, twenty years later: "On January 17, 1799, this interesting building (from neglect) became a ruin! The stones which were inarched in the compartments between the elliptic branching ribs of the dome, by the percolation of the rain, first fell—two of the ribs soon followed; this, producing an unequal bearing on the centre column, after some months forced out the third stones from its base, when the whole roof instantly collapsed and left the side walls, presenting only the spring of the arches, and the lamentable reflection of its departed beauty." I will not apologise for the length of this elegant extract; it is well to call attention to the beginnings of interest in medieval things.

South of the chapter house and running east are or were the remains of a building which Carter (in 1800) calls the crypt under the refectory; but that it cannot have been; whether it had to do with the dorter, rere-dorter, or infirmary is not clear to me.

Of the south and west ranges I can only say that the site of the frater is occupied by an orangery.

Wheel Cross of Conbelin

WITHAM [*Carthusian*

THERE were but nine Carthusian monasteries or Charterhouses in England. The Order, which was one of the strictest, came to England in the twelfth century, but only one house was founded then. The next belongs to the thirteenth, and all the others to the fourteenth and fifteenth. Witham was the first and Hinton the second; so Somerset owns the two oldest.

This is one of the principal distinctions of Witham; another is that its real founder was the great St. Hugh, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

Monks from the Grande Chartreuse (near Grenoble) had come to England before 1179 and had been settled by Henry II near Witham. The Prior who headed their colony, conscious of failure, retired; a second Prior died; Henry II was in despair at the ill-success of his foundation. From a noble of Maurienne, who happened to be in England on an errand touching a royal marriage, he learned about Hugh, then at the Grande Chartreuse, and sent an influential embassy to demand his services. Most reluctantly the convent let him go; he came to Witham in 1179 and found the monks in great straits. He laid his plans for the establishment of a monastery on proper lines (the brethren were living in log huts, and the sites of the necessary buildings had not even been marked out), went to see the King, Henry II, obtained the royal consent to all he required, and at last—probably on January 6, 1182—the King issued a charter of foundation and endowment for Witham Charterhouse. Hugh presided over the new house till 1186, when he became Bishop of Lincoln. He was one of the greatest and most attractive figures of his time.

The dedication of the house was to the Blessed Virgin, St. John Baptist, and All Saints. I have but one casual scrap of information about its "personnel" to put on record. John Blackman, once Fellow of Eton, and confessor to Henry VI (about whom he wrote an interesting tract), joined the Carthusian Order late in life, and bequeathed all his books to Witham.

The clear annual value of the Priory at the Suppression was £215.

Of the main buildings nothing at all is left; they were on low ground near the Frome (and the railway), about a quarter of a mile from the one building which has to be described. Excavation has revealed hardly anything.

What is left is the church or chapel of the Frary—*not* Friary—that is, the lay-brothers' church. It now serves for the parish. It is a very attractive twelfth-century building, small, but of noble conception. It is vaulted and has an apsidal east end. The walls have been thickened to bear the weight of the vault, which has a curious effect on the splay of the windows. The buttresses are notable. On the north is a blocked door. At the west end a sort of annexe was added in 1876.

There is some good modern glass, by Comper, and a little bit of the old screen destroyed in 1832.

THE second, as we saw, of the Carthusian foundations in England is properly called Locus Dei. It was established by Ela, the widow of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, in 1227. Her husband had made provision for Carthusians at Heythrop in 1222, but the place did not suit them. The buildings at Hinton were finished in 1232 and inaugurated by Ela on the same day (apparently April 13—the date is given as 16 Kal. Maii, which is really the Ides of April) as her nunnery of Lacock in Wilts.

The dedication was the same as that of Witham—to the Virgin, St. John Baptist, and All Saints. The clear annual value at the Suppression, £248.

A few books from the library exist; *e.g.* at Lambeth. I may be allowed the remark here that the Carthusian libraries, to judge from the extant remains of them, were very largely composed of devotional books. Blackman's library (see under Witham), collected in his secular days, was of a fairly miscellaneous character.

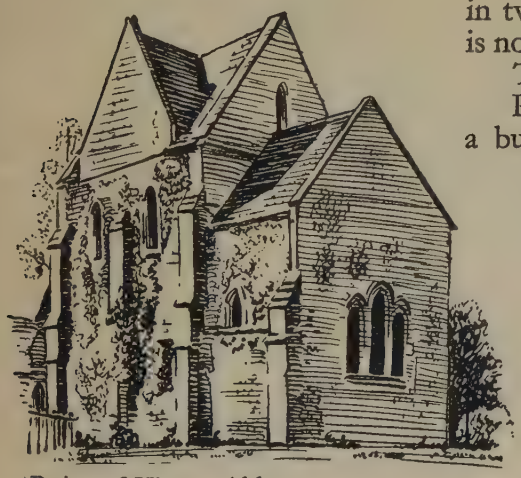
Of Hinton there remains one beautiful thirteenth-century building which was attached to the church; and in the offices of the later mansion (itself built, no doubt, largely out of the materials of the monastery) are some other relics.

The church is quite gone. The surviving tall building was attached to it on its south side. The north wall of the said building (the nearest to you as you approach) shows a string-course and vaulting shaft. There is a trefoil-headed recess and an arch to the west. Then comes a blocked passage with a chamber over it. Then the main building, in three stages. The lowest is a beautiful vaulted chapel in three bays. There is a trefoil-headed piscina with two drains; on the south side a very remarkable spiral corbel; on the north an aumbry, or cupboard. In the east wall, three lancets.

The first floor has another vaulted chamber in two bays. It is called the library, but there is nothing to show that this was its use.

The top floor is a dove cot.

Passing to the present stable-yard we find a building which is said to be the frater; it stands east and west and is in two storeys. The vaulted undercroft is of three bays and has two columns. At the west end of this is the kitchen, with a serving hatch in the south-west corner, a fireplace, and a lancet window by it. At right angles to the frater is a projection with three lancets in its upper storey at the north end. Under the Carthusian rule the brethren did not



Ruins of Hinton Abbey

meet in the frater every day, but only on Sundays and feasts. On other days they kept within their little houses, of which each monk had one, with a small garden. These houses stood round a court. The best example of a Charterhouse, showing the old arrangements, in this country is Mount Grace in Yorkshire.

Traces of the Frary or lay-brothers' church have been found in the lower part of the park, near the road.

HAUGHMOND ABBEY: INFIRMARY HALL, SOUTH-WEST

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HAUGHMOND ABBEY: ABBOT'S LODGING

HAUGHMOND ABBEY: CHAPTER HOUSE

HAUGHMOND ABBEY: KITCHEN CHIMNEYS

HAUGHMOND [*Augustinian*

R Haghmon, was a house of Austin or Black Canons, dedicated to St. John Evangelist and founded by William Fitzalan of Clun, in the year 1110. Established at first on a very modest scale, it was sufficiently prosperous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to do a great deal of rebuilding and enlargement. Its clear income at the Suppression was £259.

After this it was converted into a dwelling-house by the Barkers, and apparently burnt out in the seventeenth century. Some of the later additions remain.

It is most pleasantly situated on level ground, with a range of wooded hills rising behind it, and a distant view of the spires of Shrewsbury.

On paying his sixpence for entrance the visitor receives an excellent printed account of the place by Mr. Brakspear, accompanied by a plan of what exists and what was discovered by excavation in 1907. My own account will be the shorter in consequence.

The site of the church is farthest away from you as you approach, so, contrary to custom, I will not take the visitor thither first.

The large church-like building which is first seen is the infirmary hall, of the fourteenth century, nearly complete. Under the great window at the west end are two doorways which led to the pantry and buttery. Porches on north and south admitted to a space screened off from the main hall. There is a fine range of windows to the south, and on the north some later doorways.

At right angles to this, crossing its east end and projecting southwards, is the Abbot's lodging, with a very conspicuous late oriel. The original end was square and had a great window.

Returning to the west front of the infirmary hall and passing it, we come to a range of three fine chimneys (two in good preservation), or rather the projections made by great fireplaces—those of the kitchen.

A cottage is built up against these, inside. Entering, we find ourselves in the outer court, which is of rather irregular shape. Facing us (on the east) is the substructure of the dorter of the canons ; the rere-dorter joined it obliquely at the south end and touched the Abbot's lodging, enclosing a roughly triangular yard.

On the north is the frater, and the kitchen adjoins it at the west end. Beneath the frater was a cellar.

Crossing this, we enter the cloister court.

Of the west range only the inner wall is left ; in the corner by the frater (south-west) is the lavatory recess.

Of the east range a good deal is left, including some twelfth-century building. Going northwards, we first come to the parlour, a mere passage, and then to the chapter house. Originally oblong, the east end of this was made three-sided in the sixteenth century, and the fine timber ceiling, then put in, remains. But

the chief feature is the elaborately ornamented entrance of twelfth-century work. On the jambs of the doorway figures of saints were carved in the fourteenth century, four on each side: on left, St. Augustine, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Katherine, St. John Evangelist; on right, St. John Baptist, St. Margaret, an abbess (? St. Milburga), and St. Michael. The lateral arches are also very beautiful. Between this and the south transept of the church was the vestry.

On the north side we see only the western door from cloister to church, on the jambs of which SS. Peter and Paul have been carved.

Thence to the site of the vanished church. Excavation has shown that it is the second church built here, the first having been much smaller, and that to the second church, which originally had no aisles, a north aisle and porch were added.

Three inscribed slabs have been found; those in front of the high altar belonged to the Fitzalan family.

The places of the western screen and of the pulpitum will be seen marked on the plan.

The stone building which protected the head of the water supply exists near a pond on the hill, but is not accessible.

LLANTHONY (Mon.) & LLANTHONY (Glos.) [*Augustinian*

MUST be treated together. The Monmouth house is the earlier. A narrative of its origin, written late in the twelfth century with the utmost elegancy of that period, full of exclamations, declamations, and tags of Latin verse, is printed in the *Monasticon.* This I will follow for the main facts, and begin by indulging the reader with an example of the style as shown in a description of the site.

"But how can I describe the situation of the place? since almost every feature of it is known to differ now from what it was when first inhabited. Precipitous rocks, almost inaccessible even to headlong beasts (of which there are many in this region) encircle the dark valley and are crowned with airy woods. They afford to him who looks thence far and wide over land and sea prospects wonderful in proportion to the height from which they are viewed. The intervening valley on the other hand, bristling with trees, of many sorts, thickly set, sinks to the narrow depth of a dark abyss, yet is so exposed to the inclemency of all weathers that whether the soil is basking in daylight or the bright stars are shining, it is often afflicted either by strong and parching wind, or obscuring cloud, or the rush of rain, or bonds of frost, or hardened hail, or snow that mocks by its softness, though elsewhere the even temperature of a milder breeze may be felt."

This is by no means all that the writer has to say about the Vale of Llanthony, but it may suffice. He goes on to tell us that the full name in Welsh is the church of David on the river Hotheni, Landewi Nant-Hotheni.

A knight named William, a retainer of Hugo de Laci, chanced to come to the valley and the old chapel of St. David when hunting, and, smitten with a sudden desire to retire to such a spot from the world, settled here as a hermit. In 1103 he was joined by Ernisius, a chaplain of Queen Maud.

Hugo de Laci endowed these first settlers with lands, and by the advice of St. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, they agreed to place themselves under a regular rule. The Benedictines seemed to them inclined to laxity; the Cistercians to avarice. They chose the Rule of St. Augustine, and Canons Regular from Merton, Holy Trinity in London, and Colchester, came to teach them the observances. Ernisius was made the first Prior (by this time about forty canons had joined him), and was succeeded in due time by Robert de Bethune, who was soon made Bishop of Hereford. His successor was Robert de Braci. Henry I died, and troublous times came on. The Welsh raided the monastery. Indeed, one chief, with all his belongings, finding himself hard pressed by his neighbours, took up his abode there, and dances and revels went on in the very church.

The Canons complained to the Bishop of Hereford. He offered them his

palace, and most of them moved over there, a few only refusing to leave Llanthony. For almost two years he supported them, and then Milo, Earl of Hereford, gave them some land called the Hyde, just outside Gloucester; and there a new Llanthony was built and called *Lanthonia secunda*—the original house being, of course, *Lanthonia prima*. The date of this is given as 1136.

The new house was naturally far more popular than the old, and the mother soon came to be regarded as a cell to the daughter. It was hard to get anybody to live there, and the place became impoverished. In Edward IV's time a licence was issued to unite *Lanthonia prima* with *secunda;* but at the Suppression the two places were valued separately: *prima* at £90, *secunda* at £748—an indication of the relative importance which cannot be mistaken.

Time, however, has had his revenges; there are far more remains of the old house than of the new. This is but natural, for the one is in a remote valley, the other on the outskirts of a city.

Of *Lanthonia prima*, a very beautiful place, there may be seen, in the first place, a fragment of the gate house, south-west of the church, added to, and turned into a barn. Then the greater part of the church itself, 212 feet long, consisting of western towers, aisled nave, central tower and transepts, and aisleless choir. The nave had eight bays. A chapel opened eastward out of the south transept. This church is not the original Norman building of Hugh de Laci. Though the round arch appears in the upper stages, the main arches of arcade, tower (and western windows), are all pointed. It is held by Mr. I. Gardner that the eastern part of this church was the canons' first church (not that of Ernisius, but one dating from 1108–34), and that the rest of the church should be assigned to about 1200. He sees the remains of the church of Ernisius in the chancel of the present parish church.

Of the western towers the southern is the better preserved, and is now used as a dwelling-house.

The three great lancets in the west front perished about 1803 (the eastern ones had gone earlier).

The south aisle wall of the nave is gone; most of the north remains. The south and west sides of the central tower are there. The cloister buildings are on the south. In the east range is, next to the transept, a well-preserved vaulted chamber. The western part may have been a book-room, the eastern a sacristy. Next to this is the chapter house with a three-sided apse, and after that the arch of the slype, or parlour.

Part of the west range, with the Prior's lodging, remains, and, with the south-west tower, constitutes the *Abbey Hotel.*

Lanthonia secunda, just outside Gloucester, is diverted to the uses of a farm. A fragment of the gate house—the side arch with three shields over it and the springs of the main arch—stands at the entrance to what no doubt was the outer court. A great deal of the precinct wall is traceable.

On your right, just by the farmhouse, is a barn, mostly of brick, but with stone plinth and blocked windows framed in stone. A four-centred arch of a

KENILWORTH: PRIORY GATE HOUSE FROM NORTH

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KENILWORTH: PARISH CHURCH FROM SOUTH

LILLESHALL: HALL AND ABBEY

LILLESHALL ABBEY

doorway is at the farther end. Beyond this the wall has plain corbels on the inner side and rectangular blocked openings below.

The farm-house contains old fragments, but nothing apparently earlier than the fifteenth century. The barn (not that just mentioned) is the principal relic, and a very fine one, with a single transept; as usual, the windows are vertical slits with splayed inner openings.

All that one sees appears to have belonged to the domestic buildings. Where the church and cloister stood there is nothing to show. Indeed, the site is said to have been dug over and obliterated in forming the Berkeley Canal.

I do not think I should devote so much space to the second Lanthony were it not for the fact that I have been reminded of it constantly in researches among manuscripts. It had a very respectable library of about five hundred volumes, of which we have a catalogue; and an unusually large number of these books are in existence. The last Prior, one Richard Hart, when he retired, is recorded to have taken great part of the library with him to his country house. The books came at his death to his sister, who married a Theyer of Cooper's Hill, near Gloucester, and from him it seems clear that Archbishop Bancroft bought them when forming the Lambeth library. There are now well over one hundred of them there, and a good many are traceable in other collections.

One can only wish that other abbots and priors had taken like care of their old libraries.

Tithe Barn

THE chief attraction of this place is, of course, the Castle, but the Priory ought not to be forgotten by visitors. It was founded in 1122 by Geoffrey de Clinton, the Chamberlain of Henry I, who, besides lands, granted to the Austin Canons, whom he established here, " the full tithe of all things that shall come, whatsoever and whensoever, to my castle, whether to the cellar, kitchen, larder, granary or hall-garth . . . in corn and hay, pigs and beasts, muttons and bacons, game, cheese, fish, wine, honey, wax, lard, pepper and cummin . . . even if I have tithed them elsewhere as well. Also I have granted them, for the pelisses of the brethren, all the lamb-skins from all my manors, both of lambs that are eaten and that die naturally."

The Priory was made an Abbey in the time of Henry VI. At the Suppression the clear annual value was £539.

The buildings were immediately to the south of the parish church. At the west are the only relics other than foundations, namely, the fourteenth-century gate house and porter's lodge, and a detached building within, of two stories, the upper completed in brick. This has a good circular dial incised on its south wall.

Foundations were exposed in connection with the enlargement of the churchyard in 1890. The north side of the church is obscure and the south side of the cloister is gone. An inscribed tombstone "FRATRIS THOME DE OCKLE CUIUS (ANIME PROPICIETUR DEUS)" is to be seen, and two bits of images, one a sepulchral effigy, the other a statue of a seated man in armour with his left elbow on his knee—a rather puzzling and unusual fragment.

The chapter house was apsidal.

The foundations extend some way towards the south-east, where the infirmary may have been. But there is no trace of the frater.

The western door of the parish church is a good piece of Norman work. It has been conjectured that it was the chancel arch of an older church, transferred to this position in the course of later rebuilding, for the church has undergone a great deal of that.

LILLESHALL [*Augustinian*

NOT very far from Wellington, in Salop, this house was founded for Arroasian Canons, later (but I do not know when) absorbed into the Augustinian Order—the Black Canons, as they were called. The Arroasians were founded at the end of the eleventh century and take their name from Arouaise, near Bapaume. The last we hear of them is in 1470, in France. But Lilleshall was Augustinian long before that.

Richard de Belmeis is regarded as the founder, in 1148–51. There was some connection between this house and the Collegiate Church of St. Alkmund in Shrewsbury.

The net annual value at the Suppression (October 16, 1538) was £229. The grantee was James Leveson.

We have a good part of the church, and two sides of the cloister buildings, east and south. The church, measuring 207 feet by 32 feet, has a long aisleless nave of five bays, a western tower over the west bay, a central tower, and transepts with a chapel in each, and a chancel not projecting far east of these chapels. On the north-east was an almost detached Lady Chapel, of which nothing but foundations remain.

The nave had a succession of screens across it. Entering by the fine west door under the tower, you had first on your right in the second bay the western door into the cloister. In front of you were steps going right across the nave. They led up to a solid wall three feet thick, not bonded into the side walls. An altar was in front of it. If you passed this wall (which lay-people were not meant to do) you came to a thin stone screen with two altars before it and the rood beam above it, of which the holes for the ends are visible; 23 feet east of this was a stone screen (the pulpitum) 6 feet 2 inches thick. Behind this, under the crossing, was the choir, and just west of the crossing the eastern door into the cloister—a very beautiful piece of work. On the north was another door.

The pulpitum was of the twelfth century, the thin screen west of it of the fourteenth. The solid wall west of this was much later.

The wooden stalls once in the choir are said to be now in Wolverhampton parish church. The east window of the chancel was a later insertion; it had tracery. The side windows, in two tiers, are quite symmetrical on north and south.

The north wall of the north transept is gone. Out of the south transept open a succession of vaulted chambers, the first called the sacristy, the second the slype, or the parlour. Next to these is the chapter house, the east wall of which is gone, and then there is another passage. Above was the dorter.

The south side of the cloister court has the frater, in which the pulpit can be traced. At the east end of this is the day room, and east of that a passage leading to a second court on the south which may have contained the infirmary, and is wholly gone. In the frater are some interesting carved fragments and an effigy.

DORCHESTER (OXON) [*Augustinian*

ORCHESTER on the Thame has one of the most surprising and interesting of churches, and its history goes back a very long way. For four centuries it was the seat of the bishopric which is now ruled from Lincoln. The diocese of Oxford, in which it actually is, was a creation of Henry VIII.

The founder of the bishopric was St. Birinus, an Italian who was commissioned by Pope Honorius I to evangelise the inner parts of England which Augustine's mission had not touched. In 634 Birinus came to this country; he had been consecrated bishop by Asterius of Genoa (more correctly, Milan), and is said to have been a monk of St. Andrew's at Rome; but others would make him a Celt, and see in his name the Irish Byrne.

The old "Life" of him tells of one miraculous occurrence that marked his journey. Soon after setting sail, he remembered that he had left behind him a precious pall given him by the Pope, in which the Body of the Lord was wrapped. This he had left on the altar where he was accustomed to lay it when he celebrated Mass. He sprang from the ship, ran across the water and returned to find the ship stationary where he had left it.

One of his first converts was King Cynegils, whom he baptised; St. Oswald of Northumbria, already a Christian, stood sponsor to Cynegils, and the princes gave Dorchester to Birinus for his See. By a process of antedating, which is very common, he is said in the "Life" to have established secular canons at Dorchester.

After a busy missionary life he died about 650. His body, says Bede, was translated to Winchester by Bishop Hedda. But the later canons of Dorchester would not allow this. Bede, they said, was mistaken in the name; it was really one Bertinus who had been translated; Birinus still lay under the pavement before the altar, and there, about the year 1224, they found him. The Pope was called upon to settle the question; he delegated the business to Archbishop Stephen Langton, and he to his archdeacon. It became a question whether more miracles had been done by the Dorchester relics or by those at Winchester. Finally a rather provisional and permissive Bull in favour of Dorchester was issued, but the writer of the "Life" cannot find that it took effect—except that there was a solemn translation of the Dorchester relics to a handsome shrine.

No trace of Birinus' primitive cathedral has ever been pointed out.

In 1092 the seat of the bishopric was finally transferred to Lincoln. In 1140 Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, founded an Abbey of Austin Canons at Dorchester, and presumably it was he who was responsible for the Norman church, of which considerable portions remain.

Professor Freeman somewhere said that nobody but a fool ever went into a church without walking round the outside of it first. Of course this is sound doctrine; the walk round should give an idea of the anatomy or of the

LILLESHALL ABBEY: WEST FRONT

LILLESHALL ABBEY

DORCHESTER ABBEY: JESSE WINDOW

DORCHESTER ABBEY

evolution of the building, and certainly of its plan, which prepares you for what you will see inside.

Here it is well to begin the circuit by passing along the north side.

You pass the tower, which was rebuilt in 1602 out of old materials. The north wall of the nave towards the west is hopelessly irregular; at the west is a single round-headed light, then a much taller quasi-lancet, then, after a blank interval, two flat-headed fourteenth-century three-light windows.

The west face of the transept, as excavations have shown, originally projected nearly twenty feet farther north, and there was a chapel to the east. In its west face is a blocked twelfth-century door; and another just by it into the nave. According to Freeman, this portion is not really a transept, but had a solid wall between it and the choir and a west door into the cloisters. It was subsequently thrown into the north choir aisle.

The north face of the transept is late, and the eastern part has been prolonged into an aisle. The windows in this have most beautiful and uncommon tracery.

When we have passed the end of this aisle we find the sacrarium, extending one bay eastward. It has three windows, north, east, and south, which may be called unique. That on the north is the famous Jesse window, in which the tracery and glass combine to form a Jesse-tree. The east window is large and is filled with tracery from top to bottom. A central buttress supports it outside. The south window is almost equally abnormal. Below it is a very strange feature: the wall is hollowed into niches (at the back of the sedilia), and in each niche (there are four) is a curious little quasi-triangular window. Note the beautiful angle-buttresses and turrets. The ground just east of the church slopes down rapidly into marsh.

Coming round the south side we encounter first the two east windows of the south choir aisle (or Lady Chapel) separated by a buttress, and then the long line of the southern wall, again full of beautiful windows. This "aisle" extends to the end of the nave. Just at the west end there is a south porch, and another beautiful angle-buttress. The order of the additions which have been made to an original Norman nucleus are, according to Freeman: the north choir aisle, the south choir aisle, the south nave aisle, the presbytery. The wall which crosses the south aisle is part of the wall of the south *choir* aisle. The original Norman nave continued a little way east of the chancel arch: a rude arch on each side was cut through the walls later. The plinth of the south wall (originally external) is visible in the south aisle. The north wall of the nave is Norman. I shall not spend more space on the architectural history, but call attention to the most telling features of the interior.

First, the leaden twelfth-century font, with a series of seated figures round it, under arches with spiral shafts. Christ with book is recognisable, facing west, and also Peter with his key. To the other Apostles (save one) no attribute but a book is given. The exception has a kind of sceptre with a round head enclosing a cross; he may be St. Andrew.

On a pillar just east of this is a very remarkable sculptured bracket of great size, carved with figures of monks who seem to be sleeping among trees. On

the right is a devil blowing a horn. I have not seen any interpretation of this fine fourteenth-century work; it is obvious but dull to say that it represents the temptation to sloth in the monastic life. The traditional name for it is the Five Foolish Virgins. There is painting on the wall which crosses the aisle: over the altar a Crucifixion, with Mary and John, the sun and the moon, of the fourteenth century, repainted. Diapered areas are on north and south of this, and above, in a blocked arched aperture, a faint cross in red. Some beautiful tabernacle work by the south wall formed the canopy over a shrine.

Passing to the sacrarium, the eastern bay, we will examine the three curious windows. Inside, all have this peculiarity (of which they are the foremost, if not the only, example) that sculptured figures and groups in the stone tracery were designed to combine with the glazing to tell a story.

In the north window, as I have said, is the Tree of Jesse. In the stonework you will see Jesse at the bottom, and three figures, apparently belonging to an Adoration of the Magi. There is also an angel with censer, David with his harp, and a king holding gloves. The central figure is gone; probably it was the Virgin and Child. In the glass were sixteen figures of kings and ancestors of Christ, and perhaps prophets. The names of most of them remain in a confused and mutilated form. In the east window the sculptures represent, on the left, the Crowning with Thorns, the Scourging, and Bearing the Cross; on the right, the Resurrection, Appearance to Mary Magdalene, and Descent into Hell. The glass is a medley, collected from other windows in about 1809. There are figures of SS. Laurence, Michael, Stephen, Birinus (?) preaching, the Virgin and Child, one or two ecclesiastics, and our Lord; there is also some heraldry. Originally, of course, there must have been scenes of the Passion, especially the Crucifixion, to supplement the stone carving.

In the south window the sculpture represents the Funeral of the Virgin; we can see St. John with holy-water bucket and sprinkler, and four Apostles with the ends of the bier which they are carrying on their shoulders; also St. Peter as Bishop, blessing, and three figures with books.

There is early glass, including at least one figure of St. Birinus, in the little windows at the back of the beautiful sedilia.

Of the monuments, several are of exceptional interest. The best of all is a splendid cross-legged knight drawing his sword, in the south chancel. This, according to Messrs. Prior and Gardner, is a London work. There are also the tombs of John de Stonor, a distinguished judge, of Roger, prior of Rowton in Staffordshire, and abbot here (about 1510), of Abbot Richard Bewfforeste (a brass), and the matrix of a brass to Abbot John de Sutton about 1340, showing a hand holding a crosier. In fact, as the writer in the *Beauties of England and Wales* says, "the church of Dorchester is mournfully affluent, through all its precincts, in the ashes of exalted churchmen and other persons of important rank."

The church was preserved for us by Richard Bewfforeste, a layman, who bought it for £140 and bequeathed it to the parish in 1554.

The net annual value of the Abbey at the Suppression was £190; it was granted to Edmund Ashfield.

LACOCK [*Augustinian Nuns*

ELA, the foundress of Lacock (and Hinton Charterhouse), was the daughter and heiress of William III, Earl of Salisbury, and was born in 1188; she married William Longespee, the natural son of Henry I by Rosamond. He died in 1226, and was the first person to be buried in the new Salisbury Cathedral. During seven years of her widowhood she served as Sheriff of Wilts more than once [the copy of Magna Charta kept at Lacock was deposited there during one of these terms of office]; she had often resolved to found monasteries, and at length it was revealed to her that she should establish one in the land called Snaylesmede near Lacock, in honour of the Virgin and St. Bernard. This she did, and inaugurated both Lacock and Hinton on the same day in April 1232, Lacock in the morning, Hinton in the afternoon.

In 1238 she took the habit at Lacock, which was under the Rule of St. Augustine, and in 1240 became Abbess. Growing old, she appointed a successor, Beatrice of Kent, in her lifetime (on December 31, 1257), lived on quietly till August 24, 1261, and was buried in the choir of the church. Her story is told in a history of the place written by one of the chaplains who served it, and preserved in a unique manuscript practically destroyed in the fire which ravaged the Cottonian Library in 1731. Fortunately extracts had been made from it before this.

The history of the Abbey seems to have been uneventful. At the Suppression it was valued at £160 a year clear (others say £194); at that time there were eighteen nuns. It was granted to Sir William Sharington on June 16, 1540, and subsequently came into the family of the Talbots, in whom it now is. Sharington converted the buildings into a dwelling-house, destroying the church. With this exception, the house is exceptionally well preserved. The kindness of the owner allows it to be shown on every week-day except Friday.

Mr. Brakspear's admirable study of it in *Archæologia* for 1899 will be followed in my short account.

What we have of it consists of practically the whole of the cloister buildings, minus the church. The outer court is gone.

The church occupied the southern side of the cloister. It was 143 feet long by 28 feet, in seven bays. The north wall of it remains. There were no aisles and no structural division between nave and choir. The pulpitum was opposite the eastern door into the cloister, and just east of that the dorter stairs led, skewwise, into the church. The west bay of the nave was cut off by a screen, and therefore the western cloister door was farther east than usual.

The only addition made to it was a Lady Chapel of three bays, begun in 1315, and attached to the south side of the chancel. The contract for this, a very interesting one, is printed by Mr. Brakspear.

Part of Ela's tomb, which was in the choir, lies now in the south walk of the cloister; it is a fourteenth-century substitute for the original, but the

inscription, now defective, was no doubt copied from the old tomb. In full, it ran thus :

> "INFRA SUNT DEFOSSA ELAE VENERABILIS OSSA
> QUE DEDIT HAS SEDES SACRAS MONIALIBUS EDES
> ABBATISSA QUIDEM QUE SANCTE VIXIT IBIDEM
> ET COMITISSA SARUM VIRTUTUM PLENA BONARUM."

The cloister is eighty feet square, originally an Early English building with a pentice roof and an arcade of Purbeck marble, of which fragments have been found.

In the middle of the fourteenth century the west walk was rebuilt, with a flat wooden roof. It was intended to do the same by the south walk, but the plan was changed, and a stone vault was decided on. The west bays of the south walk are in this style. Then the design was changed, and the rest of the walk built in fully developed Perpendicular.

Next came the east walk. Here, when the chapter house entrance was reached, there was a difficulty about carrying the vaulting across it ; it was cleverly managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the thirteenth-century work. "Across the end of the alley in line with the outer wall of the north walk is a wide panelled arch with canopied niches in the jambs." This helps to throw the vaulting shafts of the alley farther south.

The north walk is of similar design. Awkwardness was felt when it was found that the westernmost clear bay would have to be two feet wider than the rest. Eventually the west walk was done away with.

So much for the cloister proper ; now for the buildings which surround it.

EAST RANGE. Next to the church is, first, a room with two chapels at its east end ; perhaps the western part was the sacristy. Here and in the chapter house the east wall and windows are modern. Both buildings project eastward beyond the general line of the east range, which is marked by a pier. In the thickness of the west wall are the stairs to the dorter.

The chapter house is of nearly the same size. In the west wall are a central door and two side openings. The east part is divided into two aisles, the west into three compartments corresponding to the three western openings. The vaulting therefore is peculiar.

Next to this is the vaulted passage leading to the infirmary, which is gone ; and next to it again, the warming house, divided into two aisles running north and south by three columns. Note the window seats and fire-place. The flying buttress outside (on the east) was added in the fifteenth century.

Outside this in the cloister wall were two recesses for book-cupboards. The northern one was in the fifteenth century made into an entrance to the warming house, which previously was entered by a passage under the east end of the frater. When the book-cupboard was done away the south bay of the warming house seems to have been screened off to keep books in.

DORCHESTER ABBEY: EAST WINDOW

Facing page 142

DORCHESTER ABBEY: SOUTH AISLE

LACOCK ABBEY

MAXSTOKE GATE HOUSE

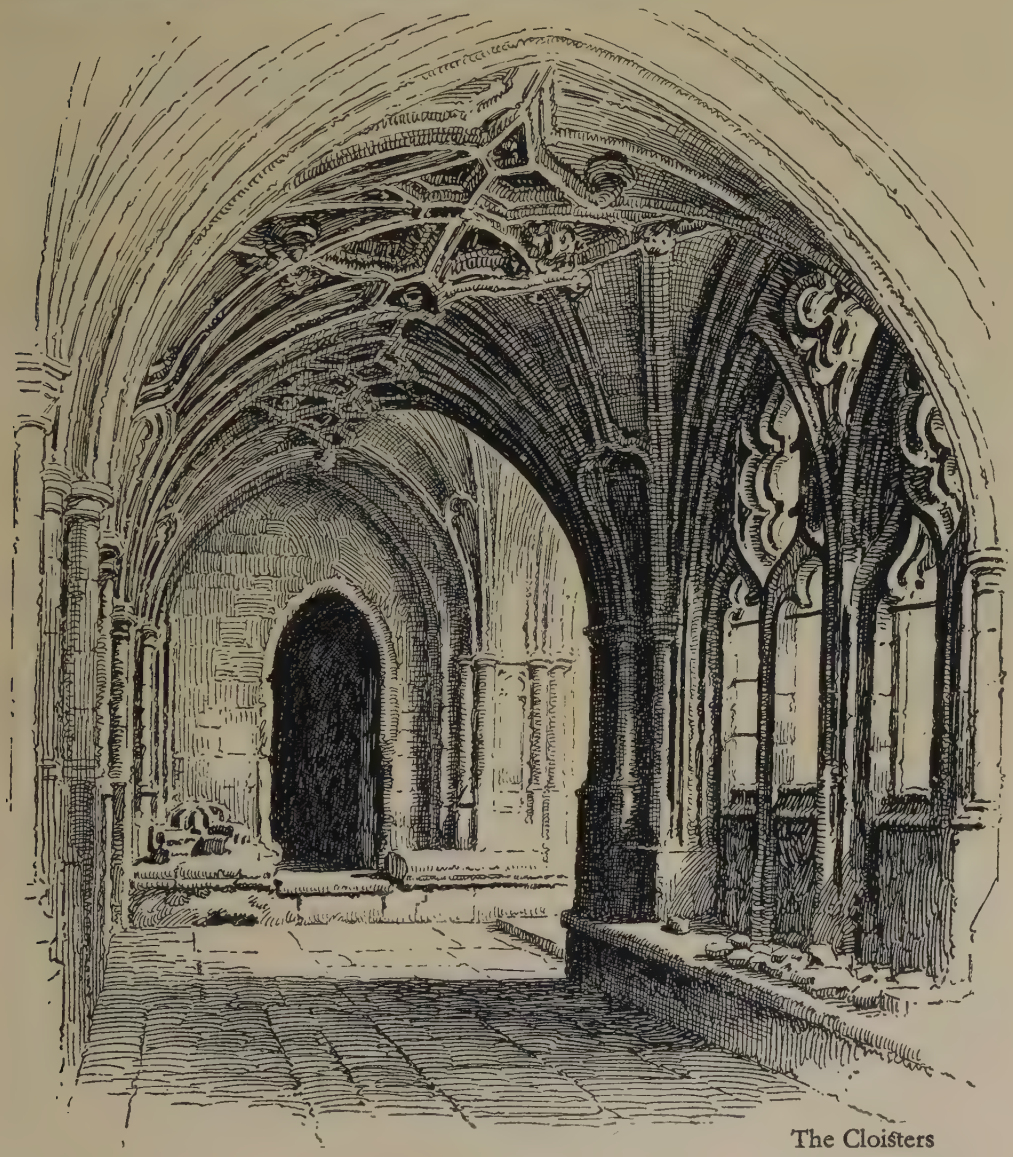
MAXSTOKE TOWER

TORRE ABBEY: GATEWAY

Facing page 143

Over the east range runs the dorter, lengthened and altered in the fourteenth century, and made into a long gallery in the sixteenth, whereby the ancient arrangement of central passages and cubicles on each side is obliterated. North of it was the rere-dorter standing east and west.

NORTH RANGE. The frater, 79 feet by 27 feet, is cut up into rooms and passages; a sub-vault is beneath it. The access to the reader's pulpit can be seen, but the pulpit has given way to a fireplace. The kitchen is at the west end, the great fireplace, 14 feet wide, at the south end of it.



The Cloisters

In the cloister, east of the frater door, is the lavatory, unaltered. In a recess are mural paintings : St. Augustine blessing an abbess, a garden on left, and another picture of an abbess.

Over the western bays of the north walk is a room of uncertain use.

WEST RANGE. The lower storey only is original. It is divided into three chambers. In the southernmost, perhaps the chaplain's room, are some early sketches on the north wall : St. Christopher and St. Andrew.

Through the middle chamber, which served as the outer parlour, was the entrance from outer court to cloister.

The northernmost is the largest and has a fine fireplace with the initials of Abbess Elena de Montfort (1421). It may have been used by guests.

The upper storey of this range was built in 1754 and contains a large hall. " The roof," says Mr. Britton in 1814, " is decorated with numerous coats of arms emblazoned in their proper colours, and the side walls are ornamented with a great number and variety of small statues, busts, etc., in terra cotta, relating to the history of the Abbey."

Formerly the Abbess's lodging was over the west range and extended along the upper storey of the south. In the west side was her large hall, entered from the north. The stone cresting over the present front door is from the fireplace. Her private chapel was over the west end of the south walk, and over the rest of the south walk, going east, was a gallery giving her access to the dorter. It was altered and lengthened in the sixteenth century.

West of the west front were some buildings now destroyed.

In the grounds is a fine large cauldron, cast by Peter Waghevens of Mechlin in the year 1500.

The village of Lacock is full of fine old houses of many periods, and the parish church should be examined, if only for the very rich and beautiful north-east chapel and the tomb of Sir William Sharington.

MAXSTOKE [*Augustinian*

OUNDED in 1336 as a Priory for twelve Austin Canons by Sir William Clinton (who altered in this way a previous foundation of a collegiate church here with a warden and five priests), led an unobtrusive existence till the Suppression, when it was valued at £87 a year clear. There were then seven canons and the Prior. It was suppressed in 1536.

The remains are interesting if rather scanty. First, there is the gate house on the road—gabled, with a staircase at the angle on the inner side leading to what must have been a large upper chamber.

Then the Prior's lodging (originally an inner gate house), converted into a farm-house, and only accessible by the courtesy of the inmates. This had once a fine great chamber upstairs with a ceiling emblazoned with coats of arms engraved by Dugdale in his *History of Warwickshire*. In 1863 this was stupidly allowed to be taken down, but some of the panels (twenty-six out of sixty-four) were put up again in a downstairs room of the farm-house. They are heavily repainted and look quite new.

The only fragment of the church is the central tower. Parts of three sides are left, and it is evident that there was once a spire. This building is in a shaky condition.

The last fragment is the west wall of the infirmary hall. This and the cloister buildings were on the north of the church. There is nothing else to be seen above ground, except the precinct wall, a good deal of which remains.

The little church of St. Michael close by should be looked into, especially by those who like to see relics of eighteenth-century furniture. The pulpit and gallery are of this period. There is a fourteenth-century churchyard cross.

Maxstoke Castle is some way off: it is inhabited and not accessible to visitors.

TORRE [*Premonstratensian*

S one of two Premonstratensian houses which have to be noticed. The Order of White Canons of Prémontré (near Laon) was founded by St. Norbert (afterwards Archbishop of Magdeburg) in 1121 as a reformed branch of the Augustinians. It had thirty-one houses (and two nunneries) in England at the Dissolution. A careful survey of these has recently been published by Mr. A. W. Clapham (in *Archæologia*, lxxiii) in which he shows that the plan of the churches was very like that adopted by the Cistercians; only, as the White Canons did not have lay-brothers, the naves of the churches were commonly without aisles. The Cistercians used their naves for the lay-brothers' choir, it will be remembered, and aisles were then wanted for purposes of communication between the different parts of the church. Nor did the White Canons place their frater at right angles to the cloister, as the Cistercians did.

Torre was founded by William, Lord Briwere, in 1196, in what is now a very beautiful situation, near Torquay. It was rich, valued at £396 a year at the Suppression.

When Leland saw it soon after this there were three gate houses standing. There is now but one, of the fourteenth century, with octagonal turrets flanking the front.

The greater part of the remains is incorporated into a modern mansion built by the Carys. Sir William Hope's plan (made in 1913 and reproduced by Mr. Clapham) shows that the church—north of the cloister—had nave with west tower (?) and north aisle, transepts with two chapels in each, choir under the crossing, and aisleless presbytery.

Of this there remain, south transept, south wall of chancel, and bits of east end of north aisle.

Of the cloister buildings, the west range formerly contained guest hall and Abbot's lodging.

The kitchen was at the south end and served both the Abbot and the frater, the sub-vault of which is preserved, occupying the south side. Of the east range nothing is left but the entrance to the chapter house, a Norman arch with an opening on either side.

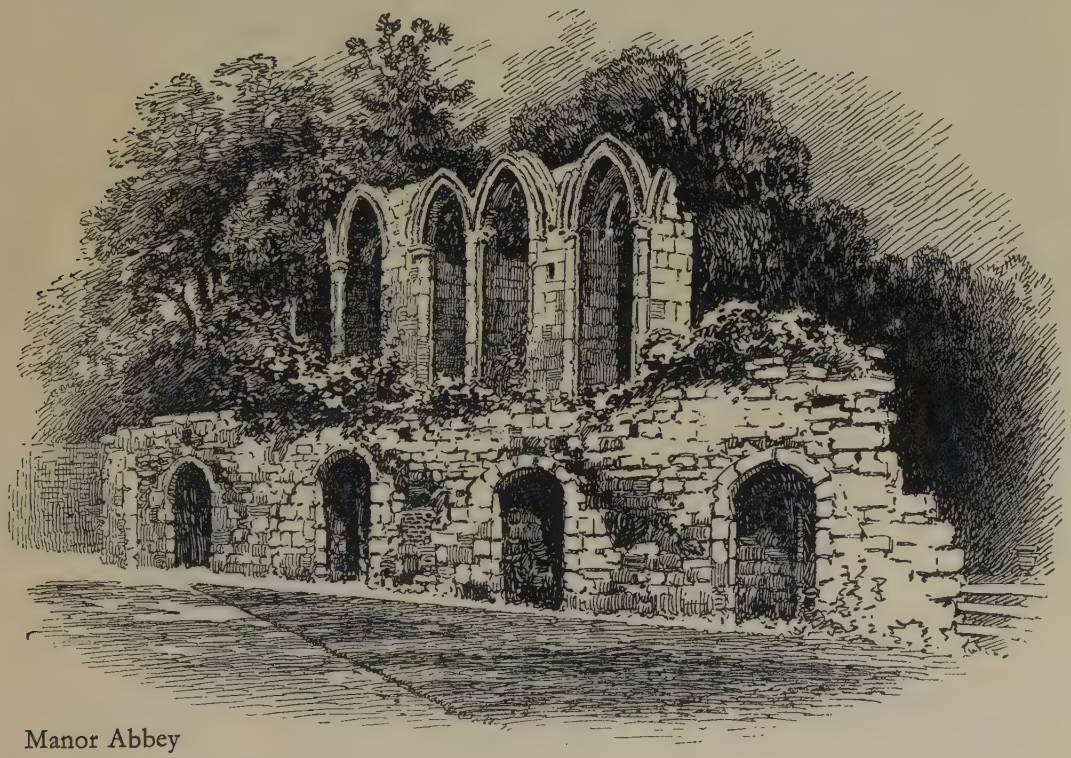
Since the ruins are in private grounds, the conditions under which access may be gained must vary and should be ascertained on the spot.

HALESOWEN [*Premonstratensian*

IN 1215 King John granted by charter to Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, the manor and advowson of Hales, for the foundation of a religious house; it took the form of a Premonstratensian Abbey, dedicated to the Virgin. Its endowments were increased in later times, and at the Suppression it was valued at £280 a year.

The ruins are occupied by a farm. They were planned and studied by Mr. Brakspear in 1906 (*Archæological Journal,* lxiii). They are of the thirteenth century.

The church, about 190 feet long, had a broad vaulted nave of seven bays, aisled, transepts with two chapels in each, the inner ones prolonged eastwards. The choir, of four bays, projected two bays east of these chapels. The barn, which occupies the north side of the cloister garth, has for its north wall the wall of the south nave aisle, with the two doors into the cloister. At the east end is the west wall of the south transept, of considerable height, with two lancet windows. Part of the south wall of this transept also remains, with the door into the sacristy, and, above, that of the night stairs to the dorter. Bits of the southern transept chapel, and of the north wall of the choir, also remain.

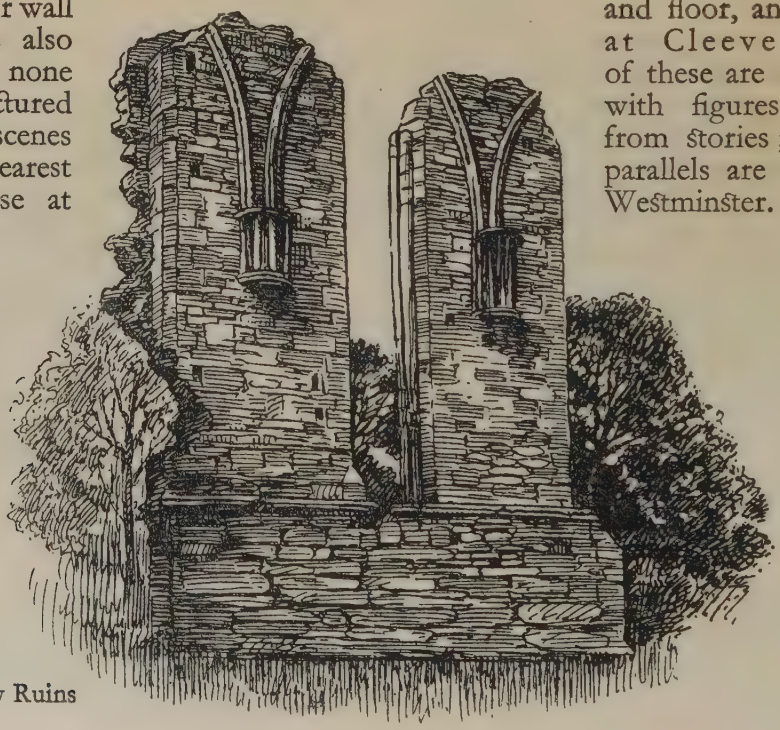


Manor Abbey

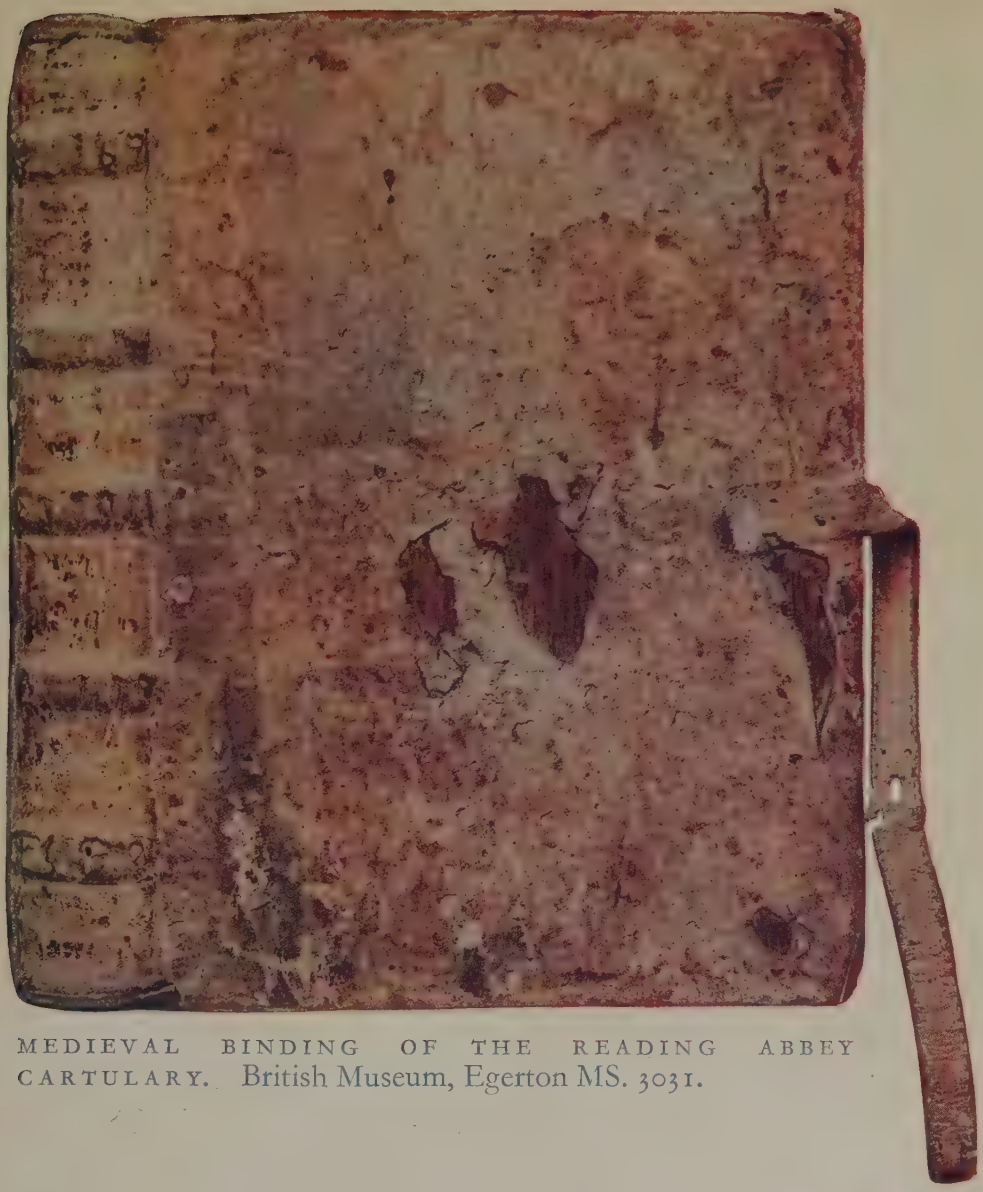
Of the cloister buildings there are these relics—EAST: Remains of the sacristy and foundations of the chapter house (east wall gone), and sub-vault of the dorter. WEST: Some few feet of a wall at the north-west corner. SOUTH: A large piece of the south wall of the frater and its undercroft. The latter was lighted by lancets (four remain, and the doorway); the frater itself, by lancets in pairs. Built into the wall are a coffin lid sculptured with a crucifix, Mary and John, and a kneeling ecclesiastic, and another small slab, perhaps covering a heart-burial, of a cross-legged knight in mail.

Westward is a piece of a detached building of undetermined use, and about 60 yards eastward of the frater is a well-preserved shell of a thirteenth-century building, once called the infirmary, but probably the Abbot's lodging. The windows are mostly pairs of lancets of the thirteenth century, but some are sixteenth-century insertions. The ancient timber roof remains, but the original floors and partitions are gone.

The pictured tiles with which some of these buildings were paved are the real distinction of Halesowen. They closely resemble those which have been found in large numbers at Chertsey, where they were made. On the Chertsey tiles are subjects from romances of chivalry—Tristram and Iseult, etc.—and some of the Halesowen tiles seem to be from the same moulds. One set of four is datable to about 1298, the inscription showing that they were made for an Abbot Nicholas of that time. We have seen that there are at Great Malvern many decorative and heraldic tiles, both for wall and floor, and fine heraldic tiles also at Cleeve and Neath. At none of these are any to be found pictured with figures, and especially scenes from stories; perhaps the nearest parallels are in the chapter house at Westminster.



Manor Abbey Ruins



MEDIEVAL BINDING OF THE READING ABBEY CARTULARY. British Museum, Egerton MS. 3031.

Facing page 148

SUPPLEMENT

A CERTAIN number of monastic houses have not been included in the body of this volume, for various reasons. Either there is not much to be seen, or else what is to be seen is so much entangled with private habitations that visitors cannot in the ordinary way expect to be admitted. But I should not like it to be supposed that I have forgotten their existence, and accordingly I add a few brief notes on them, taking them in the order in which they appear in Dugdale's *Monasticon.*

ATHELNEY, Somerset—[*Benedictine*]—founded by King Alfred after his vision of St. Cuthbert (who assured him of ultimate success against the Danes), is an historic site indeed; for here if anywhere the Story of the Cakes must be localised. The Abbey never attained real eminence, in spite of its antiquity. There was extensive rebuilding in the fourteenth century, but nothing is now to be seen above ground.

CERNE in Dorset is an interesting and venerable foundation, though little is now to be seen there. Legend would have it that Augustine established it in some form, and stories were told of the rude inhabitants fastening cows' tails on the habits of the missionaries, and driving them out, an act rewarded by the growth of tails upon themselves and their descendants. Also it was said that Augustine made a spring rise here, and that he called the place *Cern El—Cerno deum*—I see God. Next, and with more probability, it was reported that St. Edwold, brother of St. Edmund, king and martyr, retired to this place after his brother's martyrdom, about 870. And lastly, the establishment of a regular Benedictine monastery was attributed to the noble Æthelmar in 907.

That the sanctuary is really old I have little doubt; I have always supposed that it was set up here as a counterblast to the worship of the wicked old giant who is portrayed on the side of Trendle Hill just behind the Abbey. He is surely of very great antiquity, and is perhaps the most striking monument of the early paganism of the country. Whether he is British or Saxon, who shall say? Some have thought that he represents what Caesar describes—a wicker figure in which troops of victims were enclosed and then burnt to death. On this hypothesis the figure would have been marked out by a palisade of wattles on the ground, and the victims, bound, crowded into the enclosure. In any case, here must have been an important heathen sanctuary, and a fit place consequently for champions of the new religion to set up their standard.

Cerne became rich, and was worth £515 a year at the Suppression. The buildings are practically gone. The late gate house is the only appreciable fragment. But St. Augustine's spring is there, and indications that a chapel stood over it. This spring, a fine and copious one, was another feature of the place likely to attract worshippers in heathen times.

We owe to Cerne the preservation of one famous early record of English Christianity, the prayer book of Bishop Æthilwald of Lichfield, known as the Book of Cerne, and preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. It is a collection of devotions attributable to the seventh century, and transcribed in the ninth.

Another Cerne book of the thirteenth century is divided between Trinity College, Cambridge, and the British Museum. It is a beautifully written manuscript, containing much astrological, astronomical, and mathematical lore.

COVENTRY, Warwickshire, is full of medieval remains, but among them those of the Benedictine house founded in 1043 by Earl Leofric and Godiva are very inconsiderable. The church of it was a cathedral from the beginning of the twelfth century, when Paschal II formally sanctioned the transference of the bishop's see from Lichfield. "Coventry and Lichfield" was the title of the bishops thenceforth; in recent times Coventry has become independent. The Priory was endowed by its founders with an unusual quantity of precious objects: its great relic was the arm of St. Augustine of Hippo, which Archbishop Ægelnoth bought at Pavia. In spite of the pleadings of Bishop Roland Lee, the cathedral church was demolished upon the suppression of the Priory (then worth £500 a year), and really nothing of it is to be seen; a dwelling-house, constructed in the base of one of the western towers, is well-nigh the only relic. It is said to have had three spires like Lichfield. The site is north of Trinity Church.

Of three other religious houses more is to be seen. The spire of the Grey Friars' church—attached to a modern building—rivals that of Trinity, but not St. Michael's. A considerable part of the cloister and other buildings of the White Friars (Carmelites) is incorporated in the workhouse; and there are remains of the Carthusian house of St. Anne, which, founded in 1381 by William Lord Zouch, had its clear annual value reckoned at £135 at the Suppression. The site is south-east of the city, on the Sherbourne.

BORDESLEY, Worcester—[*Cistercian*]—founded about 1136 by the Empress Maud, was rich—the annual value at the Suppression being £388 clear. Nothing is left of the main buildings, but a chapel of St. Stephen, the *capella ad portas*, existed till 1807.

KINGSWOOD, Wiltshire—[*Cistercian*]—was founded by William de Berkeley and colonised from Tintern in 1138. It removed to Tetbury, but returned to a site near the old one in 1170. The endowments brought in £239 a year to the Crown when dissolved. Foundations of both the churches have been traced, but a gate house and adjoining buildings are the only remains. "Over the gateway is an elegant window divided into four separate trefoiled compartments by a central mullion; and the mullion is formed of sculptured stone representing a lily in a flower pot. The gable end is supported by a buttress surmounted by a crocketed pinnacle, and the termination of its bevilled roof displays a figure of the Crucifixion." (Britton, 1814.)

STONELEIGH or STANLEY-IN-ARDEN, Warwickshire—[*Cistercian*]—Cistercians were settled here in 1154 after several removes. The Abbey attained an annual value of £156.

Some remains are built up in the fine house of Lord Leigh which occupies the site. But the only intact structure is the gate house, of 1349, and guest rooms adjoining. In the gate house are the beams of a dilapidated set of stocks with ten holes. The building is occupied as an estate office.

COMBE, Warwickshire—[*Cistercian*]—1149 or 1150 is the date of foundation; £302 was the annual value at the Suppression. A great house, long the property of the Craven family, was built on the site. The church is gone; the buildings were on the north of it, and the north and west walls of the fifteenth-century cloister are incorporated in the house. A bit of the eastern range, with the Norman entrance to the chapter house, also remains.

FLAXLEY, Gloucestershire—[*Cistercian*]—is also partly incorporated in a dwelling-house. Founded in Stephen's time by Roger the Second, Earl of Hereford, it had £112 a year revenue at the Suppression.

The Abbot's lodging is said to form the nucleus of the existing mansion.

BINDON, Dorset, was a *Cistercian* Abbey founded in 1172 by Robert de Newburgh and his wife Matilda, and attained a yearly value of £147.

Buck's view of it in 1733 shows a considerable piece of the arcade and clerestory of the nave still standing; but now there are really only foundations. These, however, are very fairly complete. The church was 170 feet long, and was of the usual plan, with transepts (two chapels in each) and central tower. Several tombs of abbots have been found. Of the cloister buildings on the south, the sacristy, chapter house, day-room (on the east), frater and kitchen (on the south), and lay-brothers' quarters (on the west) are all discernible.

BREWOOD, Salop: Of the *Cistercian* nunnery here, called White Ladies, there are some remains. It was a small house, dating as far back as the end of the twelfth century. Of the Norman church of St. Leonard, the walls of the nave, one wall of the south transept, and the north wall of the choir, are left, with the arch of the north transept. Boscobel House adjoins the west end, and the escape of Charles the Second in 1651 after the Battle of Worcester centres round this beautiful place.

KEMMER or CYMMER, Merioneth, and CWMHIR, Radnor—[*Cistercian*]—are apt to be confused. Cwmhir is the earlier foundation, attributed to 1143. Of Kemmer there is a charter of 1209, and the foundation is assigned to 1199. It was colonised with monks from Cwmhir.

Remains of Cwmhir survive in other churches to which they were transported after the Suppression, as at Cwmhir chapel and Llandiloes.

On the spot there are only foundations.

Of Kemmer, part of the church is to be seen. There is no structural distinction between nave and choir; in the east wall are three lancets. The length

was 112 feet. The nave walls with north aisle are standing; the south aisle has fallen. There are no remains of other buildings, unless it is the fact that part of the frater is built up into a farm-house. The removal of ivy from these buildings is to be desired.

The situation of both these Abbeys is described as being exceptionally delightful.

BRUTON, Somerset—[*Augustinian*]—is a most attractive town, with a very fine parish church. The tower is particularly good. There is a small northern tower above the porch, unusual in situation and interesting in effect. The chancel was decorated in 1743 in the manner of the time, as a mausoleum for the Berkeley family, and has (I think wisely) been allowed to retain its adornments of stucco.

There was, it seems, a Benedictine monastery here before the Conquest, founded by Æthelmar, Earl of Cornwall. In 1142 a de Mohun or Moion made it into an Augustinian Priory. Whether in the interval it had lapsed is not clear.

A late Prior—but not the last—William Gilbert, titular Bishop of Megara—procured the erection of the house into an Abbey, and was naturally first Abbot. He did a great deal of building, including the nave and aisles of the present church, and his tomb is to be seen there.

At the Suppression the clear annual value was £439.

Some subsidiary buildings are incorporated into the vicarage, and the gabled pigeon-house stands on high ground south of the road.

BRADENSTOKE, Wiltshire, has been planned and studied by Mr. Brakspear in *Archæologia*, lxxiii, along with some other Wiltshire houses. It was founded in 1142, and its revenue came to be £212.

The west range of the cloister buildings is the principal relic. The Prior's parlour had a wonderful fireplace, which for a time was at Corsham, but has been put back. But the buildings are or will be part of a dwelling-house, and visitors cannot reckon on gaining access to them.

WIGMORE, Herefordshire: Canons imported from the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris by Oliver de Merlimond were first settled at Shobdon (where the weathered remains of a Norman church, set up as a picturesque ruin in the park by a Lord Bateman, once recalled Kilpeck in richness of decoration).

They had much to endure at the hands of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, and were moved hither and thither, till in 1179 they were finally settled at Wigmore.

There is more to be seen now of the Castle of Wigmore than of its Abbey (valued at £261 clear). Some of the buildings, however, remain in a farm. They are not ordinarily shown to visitors.

WORSPRING, commonly called WOODSPRING, near Weston-super-Mare, and STAVORDALE, near Wincanton, are in rather like case to each other. Of both, the churches remain, and are lived in. The former has its nave and central tower, its infirmary hall and barn. The foundations of the cloister

buildings also have been explored, at least partially. It was settled here in 1210 by William de Courtenay, and valued at the Suppression at £87. The dedication was to the Virgin and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Stavordale was not an early foundation, nor a large one. The founder was a Zouch, and the dedication was to St. James. It was annexed in Henry the VIII's time to Taunton Priory. The church, which, as I said, is now a dwelling-house (with a modern wing attached), is no doubt the building which was consecrated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1443, having been rebuilt by John Stourton.

It has a fine timber roof and east and west windows, and a beautiful little chapel at the north-east.

KEYNSHAM, Somerset, was an Abbey founded about 1180 by William, Earl of Gloucester, and became possessed of over £300 a year. Nothing remains above ground, but excavation has done a good deal to elucidate the plan of the buildings, which stood east of the important and interesting parish church.

All the four last-named houses are stated to have followed the Augustinian Rule as observed by the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris. The only others in England which did so were St. Augustine's, Bristol, and Wormeley in Hereford.

BURNHAM, Bucks, founded in 1266 for Augustinian canonesses, is in the occupation of a sisterhood. The church is practically gone; it was a plain rectangular building a little over 100 feet long. The east range of the cloister buildings survives, with sacristy, chapter house, parlour, and warming house. The wall of the frater next to the cloister is also there, and, east of the main block, are remains of the infirmary. These buildings are of the thirteenth century. They are very plain, and were long used as farm premises.

ATHERSTONE [*Austin Friars*] is just worth a visit for the sake of a look at the parish church, the chancel of which was the church of a house of Austin Friars founded in 1378 by Ralph Lord Basset; it was long used as a grammar school. The rest of the church, except the pretty octagonal tower in the middle, is modern.

The Jolly Monks, Sherborne Abbey

TO THE READER

AS in the companion volume on "Cathedrals," whilst space has not permitted an elaborate and detailed treatment of the Abbeys within the area served by the Great Western Railway, an effort has been made to provide travellers with an adequate explanation both of the buildings themselves and of their history.

For the convenience of visitors contemplating a tour of our Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Castles, the accompanying map has been prepared to show the position of each building in relation to the railway system, and a table is also given arranging the Abbeys in county order.

If readers are desirous of information as to train services and other matters concerning Great Western Railway facilities, they are requested to write to the Superintendent of the Line, Great Western Railway, Paddington, W. 2.

LIST OF ABBEYS UNDER COUNTIES

ANGLESEY
- Penmon

BERKSHIRE
- Abingdon
- Hurley
- Reading

CORNWALL
- Bodmin
- St. Germans
- St. Michael's Mount

DENBIGH
- Valle Crucis

DEVON
- St. Nicholas Priory, Exeter
- Tavistock
- Torre

DORSET
- Abbotsbury
- Bindon
- Cerne
- Ford
- Sherborne

FLINT
- Basingwerk

GLAMORGAN
- Ewenny
- Margam
- Neath

GLOUCESTERSHIRE
- Deerhurst
- Flaxley
- Hayles
- Llanthony (New)
- Tewkesbury
- Winchcombe

HAMPSHIRE
- Romsey

HEREFORD
- Dore
- Leominster
- Wigmore

MERIONETH
- Kemmer

MONMOUTHSHIRE
- Abergavenny
- Chepstow
- Llanthony (Old)
- Tintern
- Usk

OXFORD
- Dorchester

PEMBROKESHIRE
- St. Dogmael's

RADNORSHIRE
- Cwmhir

SHROPSHIRE
- Brewood
- Bromfield
- Buildwas
- Haughmond
- Lilleshall
- Shrewsbury
- Wenlock

SOMERSET
- Athelney
- Bruton
- Cleeve
- Dunster
- Glastonbury
- Hinton
- Keynsham
- Montacute
- Muchelney
- Stavordale
- Stogursey
- Witham
- Worspring

WARWICKSHIRE
- Atherstone
- Combe
- Kenilworth
- Maxstoke
- Merevale
- Polesworth
- Stoneleigh

WILTSHIRE
- Bradenstoke
- Kingswood
- Lacock
- Malmesbury

WORCESTERSHIRE
- Bordesley
- Evesham
- Halesowen
- Malvern, Great
- " Little
- Pershore

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Abbeys

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